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HISTORY

OF THE

VENETIAN REPUBLIC.

VOLUME I.

HISTORY

OF THE

VENETIAN REPUBLIC:

HER RISE, HER GREATNESS,

AND

HER CIVILIZATION.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

29960

VOL. I.

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1860.

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TO

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

CHANCELLOR OF HER MAJESTY'S EXCHEQUER,

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

LORD RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

These Volumes,

COMMEMORATIVE OF ITALIAN GREATNESS,

ARE, WITH HIS PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE First and Second Volumes of the present publication, of which the plan is to trace the course of the Venetian Power from its earliest rise to a period when the Constitution of the Republic was perfected, and her prosperity was at its zenith, are based on *The History of the Origin and Rise of the Republic of Venice*, 2 vols., 1858. The text has now been entirely recast, and in numerous instances rewritten; its errors of commission and of omission have been rectified wherever they were detected; and while many details, which seemed on consideration to be of minor interest and value, have been expunged, large additions of an important character have been introduced. No labour has been spared to render these Venetian Annals as complete as possible. The first and second volumes are rather a new work than a new edition. Of the former issue of Vols. I. and II. a very limited impression was taken; and many copies were distributed among friends, or went abroad.

The text of the ensuing pages is founded to a principal extent on the archives of Venice, Vienna,

and London, and on contemporary sources of information. It will be found that they contain many statements tending to controvert certain received notions respecting the Venetians. The French school of writers has had its day, and truth may now be allowed to prevail. *The Republic can bear the test.*

The discovery of innumerable documents, some of which have been embodied with the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, and others with the Documentary History of Romanin,[1] has not only thrown an entirely new light on the Annals of Venice, but has imparted an entirely new character to her policy and civilization. Now at length, when her History has been elucidated, the Republic claims a foremost, perhaps the first, rank among the European Powers of a passed age. It was not merely in constitutional science that she took the lead, but in literature, architecture, mechanical appliance, and almost every other branch of liberal and humanizing knowledge. The proceedings of the Senate and the Decemvirs, and the Statutes of the State Inquisition, are now accessible to all; the most secret transactions of her most secret Councils are laid bare; and the Republic is absolutely a gainer by the revelations which they afford!

[1] *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, da S. Romanin. Venezia e Vienna, 8vo. (still in progress).

It has been the object of the Author rather to illustrate Venetian Civilization in its Rise and Progress, than to expatiate on sieges and battles, or to enter into diplomatic detail. From a fear of swelling the bulk of the volumes, he has contented himself for the most part with simple references to the sources of information, without converting the foot-notes into a controversial arena.

For the General History of Italy he has used largely Muratori's ANNALI D'ITALIA, 12 vols., 4to., 1763, which are based upon the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, and are consequently of high value, though presenting occasional inaccuracies. But he has also employed a considerable number of works, especially of a critical or biographical kind, unknown or inaccessible to Muratori; such are:—

1. Domenigo Tino, *De Electione Domini Dominici Silvii, Ducis Venetiarum*, A.D. 1071.

2. The Lives of—

Filippo Scolari,
Bartolomeo Valori,
Bernardo Giugni,
Agnolo Acciaioli,
Alfonso, King of Arragon and Naples,
Lorenzo Ridolfi,

Arch. Stor. Ital. iv. 1843.

3. *Memorie che possono servire alla Vita di Vettor Pisani, Nobile Veneto* (anon.) : Venezia, 1767.[1]

4. *Assedio di Zara,* A.D. 1346 (anon.), printed for the first time by the Abbé Morelli in *Monumenti Veneziani di varia Letteratura,* 1796.

5. *I Due Foscari: Memorie storico-critiche, da Francesco Berlan, Veneziano.* Torino, 1852.

6. *Il Conte Francesco di Carmagnola: Memorie storico-critiche da F. Berlan, Veneziano.* Torino, 1855.

7. *Promissione del Doge Enrico Dandolo,* A.D. 1192; *Arch. Stor. Ital. App.* 29, 1858.

8. All the Nozze Publications; and many others of a critical or compilatory kind.[2]

The work of S. Romanin alone throws a flood of light upon the subject.

It was at one time the intention to have adopted throughout the Venetian forms of names, both as being more characteristic, and as illustrating certain terminal affinities with the English and Montenegrin idioms. But the absence of any consistency on the

[1] A volume of considerable research, though not invariably reliable.

[2] 1. *Delle Memorie Venete Antiche libri tre,* da Giambattista Galliciolli. Ven. 1795: 8 vols.

2. *Principii della Storia Civile della Repubblica di Venezia,* da Vettor Sandi, Nobile Veneto. Venezia, 1755–72: 9 vols.

3. *Storia Civile e Politica del Commercio de' Veneziani,* da Carlo Antonio Marin, Patrizio Veneto. Venezia, 1798–1808: 8 vols.

4. *Memorie Storico-critiche de' Veneti Primi e Secondi,* da Jacopo Filiasi. Padova, 1811–14: 7 vols. &c. &c.

part of Venetian writers in this respect, or of any settled orthography, led to the abandonment of this design.

No nation has done more toward writing its own History, or has written it with less bias and more ability, than the Venetian. There is no allusion here to Sabellico and his co-Historiographers, or to the critical productions of a later epoch. But the names of Johannes Sagorninus,[1] Martino da Canale,[2] the author of the *Cronaca Altinate*,[3] Marco . . . . .,[4] Andrea Dandolo[5] and his three contemporaries, the Chancellor Raffaello Caresino,[6] Nicolo Trevisano,[7] one of the Chiefs of the Ten, and Lorenzo de Monacis,[8] historian, ambassador, and poet; Giovanni Bembo,[9] Donato and Gasparo Contarini; Bernardo,[10] Pancrazio,[11] and Pietro Giustiniani;[12] Giovanni Tiepolo; Paolo and Antonio Morosini, Nicolo Zeno,[13] Pietro Dolfino,[14] Gio. Giacomo Caroldo, Secretary of the Ten,[15] Marino, the son of Leonardo Sanudo,[16] Andrea

[1] *Chronicon Venetum Vetustissimum*, *ad annum* 1008. Ven. 1765.
[2] *Cronaca Veneta*, *ad annum* 1275 (begun in 1267); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.
[3] *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii., and *juxta Codicem Dresdensem*, ibid. v.
[4] *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. This work was written about 1292.
[5] *Apud* Murat. xii. [6] Ibid. [7] *Cronaca Trevisana MS.*
[8] *Chronicon de Rebus Gestis Venetis* (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8574).
[9] *Apud* Murat. xii. [10] *De Origine Venetorum*, fol. 1492, *ad annum* 809.
[11] *De Præclaris Gestis Venetæ Aristocratiæ liber* (1006–1454). Ven. 1527.
[12] *Historia di Venetia* (King's MSS. 148).
[13] *Cronica de' fatti Veneti*, 1557.
[14] *Annali Veneti* (King's MSS. 149). [15] Ibid. No. 147.
[16] Murat. xxii.

Navagiero,[1] and numerous anonymous chroniclers, whose contributions to the historical literature of their country still remain in MS. and unidentified—contradict the loose assertion that the early Venetians were peculiarly remiss in preserving their National Records.

[1] Murat. xxiii.

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HISTORY OF VENICE.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 409–568.

Antient Venetia—Origin of the Veneti—Description of the Lagoon—Spina and Hadria—Aquileia, Concordia, and Altino—Their Commercial Prosperity—Grado, Torcello, and Rialto—Irruption of the Goths (409)—Fall of the Roman Empire—Irruption of the Huns (421)—Foundation of Venice (421–52)—Consular Government of the New State (421–57)—Administration of the Gastaldi, or Tribunes (457–697)—Irruptions of the Vandals and the Heruli (455–76)—Second Irruption of the Goths (489)—Foundation of the Gothic Kingdom of Italy (493)—Reign of Theodoric the Great (493–526)—Letters of Cassiodorus to the Venetian Tribunes (520–3)—Venice under the Goths (493–552)—Destruction of the Gothic Kingdom of Italy (552)—Invasion of the Lombards (568)—Venice under the Lombards.

SEVERAL centuries before the beginning of the Christian Era, the Veneti were dwelling among the Euganean Hills.[1] Their dominion comprehended thirty-five cities, counting one million five hundred thousand inhabitants, who were known and feared by the neighbouring peoples as the uncorrupted scions of a hardy race. An obscure

[1] Giuseppe Micali (*Italia avanti il Dominio dei Romani*, vol. i. p. 81 *et seq.*)

but precious tradition taught the Veneti to believe that their forefathers, under the guidance of the famed Antenor, renouncing the hope of return to their native land after the fall of Troy, had penetrated into the genial regions of Italy, where they found a large but disunited nation, which soon either courted their friendship, or wore their yoke. The new comers gradually acquired the art of navigation, the mode of rearing bees, and of cultivating vines and olives, which grew rapidly in a rich and luxuriant soil. Their poverty guarded their virtue: their virtue preserved their power. The produce of the salterns and fisheries, on which the Veneti mainly subsisted, also formed the germ of an extensive commerce with Britain and the adjacent islands. The colonists successively reduced beneath their sway the various ports situated on the Gulf of Adria; they at last presumed to dispute with Rome herself the sovereignty of the seas; their intrepidity even carried them so far as to encounter, in more than one regular engagement, the victorious arms of Julius Cæsar, who experienced, at the hands of those bold and adroit mariners, fully as determined a resistance as had been offered by the Ædui and Helveti; and when Venetia yielded, in the lapse of time, to the prowess of the Consular legions, the conquered territory was accounted the finest province of the Roman empire.[1]

[1] Cicero, in one of his Philippics, calls Venetia *flos Italiæ et ornamentum populi Romani.* "Il paese de' Veneti," says Formaleoni (*Navigazione*, &c., vol. ii. p. 17), "formava la più vasta fra le regioni d'Italia.

The Veneti of the age of Cæsar may be regarded as a people whose disposition was warlike and enterprizing, among whom the arts of civilized life flourished in more than an ordinary degree, and who possessed a knowledge of navigation and a skill in naval architecture which was not common at that day. That the reduction of the Veneti was not accomplished by the Romans without great difficulty, we have the testimony of the *Commentaries* themselves. Dion Cassius emphatically states[1] that it was only by taking advantage of the careless contempt which the barbarians entertained for the Roman navy that the Republic was enabled to effect her object, and the probability seems to be, that the Veneti were among the last of the Gauls who submitted to the arms of Cæsar.[2]

The description of the smaller vessels in use among the Veneti of the Roman period corresponds in a manner which is somewhat striking, with that of a modern gondola. Their men-of-war and merchant-

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Le sue terre erano fertilissime di prodotti, abbondavano di gregge, e di miniere, ed allorchè le storie cominciano a farne menzione, rappresentano i Veneti come una nazione illustre, antichissima, ricca di produzioni della terra, e florida per le sue manifatture e pel suo commercio."

[1] "Sed barbari dum navium (Romanarum) exiguitatem atque infirmitatem contemptui habent, superati sunt."—*Hist. Romana*, lib. xxxix. p. 109 *et seq.*

[2] Strabo (vol. i. p. 195) is clearly in error in stating that the conquest of the Veneti was achieved with facility. Dion Cassius (*ubi supra*) says: "Erant enim Venetorum urbes in locis naturâ munitis sitæ, ut facilè adiri non possent. Ac fere omnes oceano alluebantur, ut neque pedestri itinere facilè adiri possent, neque navibus, ob æstum maris subinde incitatumque minuentemque."

men appear to have borne no distant resemblance to the ships which were employed in the eleventh century by the Normans, and which were introduced by the latter into England. The material of which they were constructed was generally oak, which the Veneti were in a position to obtain in large quantities at inconsiderable cost.[1]

Venetian writers have been at some pains to shew that their ancestors were always free; that while the Veneti courted and enjoyed the friendship of Rome, they never wore the yoke to which all other European nations were eventually compelled to bow. On the other hand, several specious arguments have been employed in the attempt to prove the assertion that the claim of the Republic to absolute and immemorial independence had no sufficient foundation. It is well known that there was a period when this question occupied a large share of attention, and when the origin and antiquity of Venetian freedom presented a fruitful theme for pamphleteers. But excepting in a historical light, the point has now lost every element of attraction, and we do not purpose to resuscitate here an idle and frivolous controversy. There is the certainty that during a considerable period of time the antient Veneti preserved their independence, and that they long constituted the predominant power in Northern Italy. Still it is equally certain that in the time of Cæsar the liberty of that people was successfully

[1] Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico*, lib. iii. sect. 34); Dion Cassius (*Historia Romana*, lib. xxxix. p. 109 *et seq.*); Strabo (lib. iv. p. 195).

invaded, and that they were ultimately brought, like their neighbours, under the Roman domination. Nor does the latter admission in any way affect prejudicially either the honour or the reputation of the Republic. If it had been true that the Venetians inherited their freedom, they might have been accounted fortunate indeed; but in acquiring it, how much greater was their glory!

In the Augustan age, Venetia and Istria united to form the *Tenth Region;* under Constantine, the two districts were reckoned as the seventeenth *province* of Rome.[1] Venetia itself was divided, during the reign of the latter prince, into *Prima* and *Secunda* or *Maritima*, the last of which had long been known to the conquerors as the *Gallicæ Paludes*. Venetia[2] Maritima was bounded on the east by the Adriatic, on the north by the Julian Alps, on the west by an imaginary line drawn between the Adige and the Po, and on the south by the latter river.

The inclining plain of Northern Italy, which verges continually toward the sea, is irrigated by several rivers. Of these, the Livenza and Isonzo take their rise in the Alps; the Brenta, the Musone, the Piave, and the Adige ooze from the snows of the Tyrol; and the Po, after receiving the tributary waters of the Alps and the Apennines, disembogues in the Adriatic at its western

[1] Maffei (*Antica Condizione di Verona*, 25: Ven. 1719).

[2] The etymology of this word from VENI ETIAM, *cioè viene ancora e ancora, perciocche quante volte verrai, sempre vedrai nuove cose e nuove bellezze*, is whimsical enough. (Sansovino, lib. i. p. 5.) The derivation VIEN DI QUA, suggested in a tract published in Harl. Misc. v. edit. 1808, is not less unfounded.

angle. That the strength and rapidity of the currents of these several streams would be greatly increased by the sloping nature of the country through which they flow, is sufficiently obvious; and it will also be easy to conceive the process by which, in their passage to the gulf, the force of the tide would loosen and remove the sand and mud accumulated on their shores, and deposit it as sediment at their respective confluences, which lay within a short distance of each other. This alluvial matter, which served to attest the active and unrestricted operations of nature in that quarter, naturally assumed, in the course of ages, the form of mounds, or *lidi*, while many acquired a degree of size and solidity which entitled them to the name of islands. The final result which was to be expected, however, from this large formation of new and artificial soil close to the *terra firma*, was that the whole intermediate expanse of morass, or *lagoon*, would have been girded by an unbroken belt of sand, and that an extensive tract of country would have been permanently reclaimed from the ocean; and this result, indeed, was only obviated by the estuaries which along the upper coast of Northern Italy were created by the frequent confluence of opposite currents, and which, by a series of winding and deep channels, divided the *lidi* at irregular intervals, at the same time affording a certain access to the wide and terraqueous tract which had now interposed itself between the true shore and the exterior margin of the Adriatic.

It was on these narrow strips of land, ill sheltered

from the waves, yet protected only by the waves, of which it might have appeared that man would hardly care to dispute possession with the sea-fowl, that a few hundred stragglers, exiles from their native soil, were driven, in the fifth century of our era, by the force of adversity, to seek a temporary home; and on this unique site the fugitives laid the foundations of the proud and powerful Venice, by erecting here and there on the *lidi* a few huts of mud and osiers.

In the singular encroachment of the land upon the water which was to be observed in the conformation of the Venetian lagoons, and the slow creation of a firm soil, where before there had been nought but liquid expanse, it is not unnatural to seek the evidence of preparation for things that were to come. The remarkable changes which had taken place during the lapse of ages in that part of the coast strongly point to the distant contemplation of a City of Refuge in the midst of the waves. To that end, it might seem the rivers had yielded up their soil, and the sea was rolled back. That such extensive and continuous operations were directed by chance alone it may be hard to believe; the faith which we profess should teach us rather to trace in them the finger of Omniscience and the workings of an Unseen Hand.

We are told by Strabo that in his day the country immediately contiguous to the Gulf of Adria was intersected in every quarter by rivers, streams, and morasses; Aquileia and Ravenna were then cities in the marshes; and it appears probable that, had not the

inroads of the sea been checked by a circumvallation of dykes, the whole region would have presented the aspect of a salt-lake.

The climate of antient Venetia was generally tepid, occasionally chilly. In the spring, the atmosphere was gratefully tempered by the sea-breezes; during the summer, the frequent recurrence of storms cleared the air, and deluged the plains; snow was rare and transient. The soil was rich and fertile: it was composed of ashes, dust, and bitumen, varied at certain levels by layers of salt. Salt also formed, with honey, oil, fish, and wine, the staple commodities of the country.

The remote origin of the Veneti forms a point of ethnological research with which the present work has little concern. Numerous enough are the theories and hypotheses which, at various periods, have been advanced on the subject; yet it is one which is still surrounded by the greatest difficulties, and veiled in the deepest obscurity. There seems to be some plausibility, however, in the suggestion that the Veneti were originally of Phœnician extraction, and that a colony of Tyrians, passing in the course of migration from their native soil to Asia Minor, proceeded thence, in process of time, to Northern Italy, on the shores of which they formed numerous settlements, and built several cities. These colonists were called Tyrrhenians or Etruscans; they became the founders, at successive periods, of Spina at the mouth of the Po, and Hadria[1]

[1] Hieronimi Aleandri junioris de Provinciâ Venetiarum, deque urbe Venetiarum dissertatio., Published by Morelli: *Operette*, ii. 275.

in its vicinity, both of which attained the highest degree of commercial prosperity. No vestiges of the former are now visible. The gradual deposits of nature have had the effect of removing Hadria to a distance of eighteen miles from that sea on which it once stood, and which still bears its name. Nor has the decline been recent. For even in the time of the Romans these places presented little more than the shadow of their former greatness.

The names of the principal islands which were indebted for their existence to natural agencies, and which afterward united to form the city of VENICE, were:[1] Grado, Bibione, Caorlo, Heraclia, Equilo, Torcello, Murano, Rialto, Malamocco, Pelestrina, Brondolo, San Nicolo, Chioggia *Piccola* and *Grande*, Amiano, Costanziaco, Olivolo, Spinalunga. The extreme northerly point of the city was Grado; and it was from Grado to Caput Aggeris (Cavarzero), at the extreme south beyond Chioggia, that the Venetian people were summoned from the earliest times to Grado or Heraclia for the purpose of deliberating on the national affairs.

After the successive fall of Spina and Hadria, three other cities, which had remained down to that time in comparative obscurity, acquired in their turn prominence and celebrity. Of these, the most conspicuous in wealth and in industry was Aquileia. This place continued, for some length of time, to hold the

[1] Gianbattista Galliciolli (*Delle Memorie Venete Antiche Libri Tre*: Venezia, 1795: 8°, 8 vols.); *et alii*.

first rank among the cities of Northern Italy. The river and maritime commerce of the Aquileians was equally extensive. Their traders penetrated by the Danube to Goricia and Belgrade, and perhaps even to Byzantium and the Roman colonies on the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Black Sea.[1] The Po, the Tagliamento, the Livenza, the Adige, and the Brenta, were covered with their cargoes and freights. Their port was regarded as the general emporium and *entrepôt* of that part of the peninsula.

Other towns of leading importance at the same period were Padua—in the time of Strabo a manufacturing place of some note—Ravenna, Concordia, and Altino. The latter possessed no fewer than six ports: Torcello, Maggiorbo, Murano, Burano, Amiano, and Costanziaco.[2]

The antient port of Aquileia was a large island, which extended along the upper margin of the salt lagoon to the south of Friuli. The name of that island was *Gradus* or *Grado*. In the palmy days of Aquileia, with which it was connected by a mole of Roman construction, Grado seems to have been a place of some consideration. It is likely that it derived no small advantage from the unceasing traffic which was maintained by the Aquileians with every part of Italy. In the second century, or even earlier, the island formed a favourite residence of the bishops of Aquileia, who embellished it with orchards, pastures, vineyards, and

[1] Marin (vol. i. p. 62).

[2] Marin (vol. i. p. 55). Blondus of Forli (*Italia Illustrata:* edit. 1481).

olive-groves, and, in conjunction with Caprulæ, one of the harbours of Altino, it was frequently chosen as the quarters of the Roman army, and the anchorage of the Roman fleet. The commercial benefits which Grado received from its selection as a military and naval station will be readily imagined.

Among the Euganean Hills there was a stream called Rivum Altum, or Realtum,[1] a branch of the Adige, which, after flowing a considerable distance along the skirts of the lagoon, and giving its name to one of the Adriatic islands, emptied its waters into the Gulf of Venice. The island, to which the Realtum thus gave its name, was destined, in later days, to become the site of a flourishing city, and the capital of a great republic.

About seven miles to the north of Rialto, and at a somewhat higher level, lay a spacious island, which was subsequently known as *Torcello*. In the time of the Romans, Torcello enjoyed considerable eminence. It was one of the ports of Altinum, the aristocracy of which were in the habit of resorting thither in the summer season for change of air. It was full of gardens and country-houses, and it was probably the fashionable watering-place of the day.

The wide field of inquiry opened by the decline and fall of the Roman empire, which has been traversed and explored by so many able writers, does not come

[1] "Which," observes Temanza (*Antica Pianta di Venezia*, p. 5), "could be no other than our *Canal Grande*."

within the scope of the present work; a general review of the events which immediately preceded the siege of Rome by the Huns in 452, may not, however, be considered inappropriate.

On the demise of Constantine the Great (337), his extensive dominions were divided among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. In 353, the violent death of his two brothers left the second son sole emperor. In 360, however, Constantius, feeling incapable of sustaining the undivided weight of a vast and sinking empire, was under the necessity of decorating his nephew Gallus with the purple, and of intrusting to his care the Eastern provinces. But the feeble and odious character of the new Cæsar speedily procured his deposition and imprisonment in the fortress of Pola, in Istria, where he died; and by the decease of Constantius himself in 361, the monarchy devolved on Julian, called the Apostate, who again was succeeded, after a reign of two years, by Jovian (363). The history of Rome from the accession of the last-named prince to the final partition of the empire, forms a well-known page in history. The temporary check which the genius of Theodosius had given to the enemies of his country was far more than neutralized by the imbecile timidity of Honorius, the selfish avarice of Placidia, and the half-suspected treachery of Stilicho. The Roman empire tottered on its base, when it was overturned, in 409, by the Goths under Alaric.

Forty-three years later, Attila, or Etzel, king of the

Huns, invaded Italy,[1] where he hoped to find and to conquer a rich and feeble province, which the Romans, disunited by faction and enervated by luxury, seemed unable to protect. The savage and grotesque horde of warriors, of whom Attila was the general and the sovereign, proudly traced their descent from the pastoral tribes which, two thousand years before the Christian era, were dwelling beyond the frontiers of China. As the barbarians advanced toward the sea, the whole peninsula was laid waste and desolate; and the level plains of Lombardy, and the smiling fields of Umbria and Liguria, became soon a prey to invaders, whose strange and uncouth mien was regarded by their victims with a feeling of pious horror. The maritime districts of Italy underwent, in their turn, a similar fate; and such of the inhabitants of those forlorn regions as had the courage and self-possession to effect their escape, sought shelter by a natural impulse in the neighbouring lagoon, where a colony of exiles gradually formed themselves into a little nation. The Paduans fled to Malamocco and Rialto; the fugitive population of Belluno and Feltre commenced the formation of a settlement to which they gave the name of HERACLIA. In Grado, which they had hitherto used only as a place of occasional resort and a trading station, the Aquileians were happy to find an asylum for their wives and families.[2] In the *Aquæ Caprulanæ*, eight miles from

[1] Lebeau (*Histoire du Bas Empire*, vol. v. p. 74 *et seq.*); *Histoire Générale des Huns*, vol. i. part 2, ch. i.

[2] Blondus (*Ital. Illustr.* ed. 1481).

their native town of Concordia, another colony laid the foundation of the modern CAORLO. The inhabitants of Oderzo and Asolo betook themselves in the extremity of their distress to the Lido Cavallino (so called from its celebrated breed of horses), where they became the founders of a city, on which they bestowed the name of Vesulo or Jesulo. Lastly, one-third of the population of the once proud and opulent Altino, unwillingly forsaking the banks of the Silis, emigrated to the same spot, where they set up a melancholy memorial of the home they had left behind them, by christening the six islands, on which they planted their new settlements, under the names of the six ports of Altinum. Such was the origin of Torcello, Murano, Burano, Maggiorbo, Costanziaco, and Amiano.[1]

It may be judged that in their choice of a government the members of the new commonwealth allowed themselves to be guided by the example of Rome herself, from which they in some measure traced their

[1] *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. iii. p. 92. The tradition is, that Venice was founded on the 25th of March, 421, *at noon*, as if to say, as Sansovino has it, "nella hora che il sole era nel maggior colmo del suo splendore, nel momento del piu supremo punto, che fosse nel cielo." An *Andata* was afterwards instituted in commemoration of the day, and it was called, "Andata per la Madonna di Marzo," that day being dedicated to the Virgin. On this subject Bernardo Zorzi, in his *Epitome Principum Venetorum*, 1547, has not omitted to bestow some doggerel, commencing with the line, "A Patavis fundata die hoc fuit inclyta nostra urbs."

The subjoined is from Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi*, fol. 410):—"Currente anno Domini cccc.xxi., die xv. Martii, capta fuit pars in concilio Patavicnsi construere civitatem Rivoalti. Et missi fuerunt tres consules ad dictam civitatem construendam; scilicet Albericus Faletrus, Thomas Candianus, et Zeno Daulus. Et die (x)xv. Martii principium fundamenti jactum est circa horam meridiei."

descent. The first *Consular Triumvirate*, which is said to have consisted of Alberigo Faliero, Tommaso Candiano, and Zeno Daulo (or Dandolo), remained in office during three years; under the second, the dignity became triennial; and in 457, the Consuls were supplanted by annual Tribunes, who fluctuated in number, during a period of two hundred and forty years, between one and twelve.[1] Of the nature and extent of an authority which has furnished no monuments of its acts, and has left few traces, indeed, of its very existence, it is, of course, difficult to form a correct or even an approximate notion: yet it is rational to suppose that at the outset these magistrates were required merely to administer justice and to preserve public order. At that primeval epoch, the general interests of the community were discussed and secured avowedly in periodical conventions, termed, in the Venetian dialect, *Arrengi*, composed of the whole adult male population of the islands: of such an assembly, the desire to transform the right of public debate into a privilege or monopoly appeared at least to be hardly predicable. But it is not difficult to trace in this representative system a fundamental want of compact organization; the Arrengo was manifestly too large and too factious an assembly to act in harmony, or to exercise a due control over public affairs; and in the effluxion of time it was shorn of so many of its original

[1] Nicolo Zeno il giovane: *Cronica de cose fatti dai Veneti dalla prima origine della Città;* Venice, 1557. Donato Giannotti (*Della Republica de Veneziani*, p. 41, ed. 1850). Sabellico (*De Venetis Magistratibus liber*, sign. b 2. edit. 1488).

functions and prerogatives that it became at last quite a subordinate constituent in the body politic. The weakness of the legislature naturally strengthened the hands of the executive; the Tribunes soon felt their power, and soon abused it;[1] each aspired to absolute and undivided authority; and the nation had frequent cause to complain that their confidence was claimed and betrayed by a single magistrate who dared to infringe, even while he was feigning to protect, their dearest and most sacred privileges. But the temper of the multitude was found slothful and indulgent; though ungovernable in its paroxysms of rage, its patience was long, its vengeance tardy; and it was a tolerably sure indication that his conduct had been grossly injudicious, his tyranny insufferably oppressive, when the *Gastaldo* was reminded by the outbreak of a popular insurrection, that he was simply the responsible minister of a Free Commonwealth.

The excesses of these annual magistrates, who indeed seldom bequeathed to those who came after them anything beyond the task of perpetuating civil discord and public misery, led, however, as a natural consequence, to several changes and modifications at successive periods in the Venetian government. In 503, after forty-six years of polyarchy and chaos, one Gastaldo was clothed by the national assembly with plenary jurisdiction; and this new form of administration endured through seventy-one years. In 574,

[1] Johannes Sagorninus (*Chronicon Venetum nunc primum editum*. Venetiis, 1765, p. 9).

the monarchic system fell into disrepute; a fresh revolution was effectuated in the government, and the direction of affairs was then intrusted to ten tribunes. Finally, in 654, two gastaldi, of the Houses of Galla and Obelerio or Antenori, having been assigned to the island of Heraclia, recently colonized by fugitives from Oderzo and other places in the vicinity, these magistrates were added to the existing number, which remained unchanged till the close of the seventh century.[1]

The pressure of misfortune, although it momentarily reduced the Venetians to a certain footing of equality, had not produced any impression of an enduring character on the higher, or permanently ameliorated the condition of the humbler, class of refugees. Sympathy might perhaps level for a while the social distinctions of rank and quality; and want of shelter or scarcity of nourishment might constrain a community of nobles and fishermen to co-operate, at first, in obviating or removing a danger which was common, and might be fatal, to both. But we are unable to believe that such an order of things continued to exist when the primitive settlement of the Venetians grew into a City, and when their origin faded into a tradition. In Venice, as in other States, poverty or virtue promoted industry; industry produced opulence; opulence purchased power. The creation of a new society, and the accession of new families,[2] led the colonists of the lagoon to form or

[1] Nicolo Zeno il giovane (*Cronica de fatti Veneti;* Ven. 1557, 4°, and 1558, 12°).

[2] Among others, the Arbolini or Zopoli, came from Oderzo; Agnusdei, Altino; Alimpati, Aquileia; Belegni or Selvi, Bergamo; Badoeri or Par-

encourage more conventional ideas, and to feel or imagine less absolute necessities.

Yet even now as they spread their nets, and gathered their salt, the Fishermen of Rialto surveyed with complacency their own humble but secure condition, while they regarded with a feeling somewhat akin to disdain the successive dynasties of barbarians which were usurping the Throne of the Cæsars.[1]

The ferocious Attila had expired in 453; and the nominally colossal empire, over which he had exercised a precarious sway, died with him. In 455, Genseric, King of the Vandals, allured by the twofold motive of avarice and curiosity, and invited as the champion of Eudocia, the wronged consort of the Emperor Maximus, sailed from Carthage, and arrived, with a large body of troops, at the mouth of the Tiber, where the Empress hailed him as a deliverer. But the barbarian, feigning disgust at the perfidy which had opened to him the

ticipazii, Pavia; Bassi, Reggio; Balbi, Ravenna; Barbari or Magadesi, Trieste; Barbaromani, Brescia; Bocchi, Trieste; Bellocelli, Capo d'Istria; Bosi, Padua; Bonaldi, Ferrara; Boccasi, Parma; Cornari *olim* Cornelii, Rome (?); Canale or Da Canale, Altino; Centranici or Barbolani, Cesena; Caloprini, Ravenna; Campoli, Oderzo; Chitriagi, Altino; Dauli or (?) Dandoli, Gaeta; Falieri *olim* Anastasi, Fano; Foscari, Messina; Flabenigi, Ferrara; Fradelli, Commacchio; Gradenigi, Aquileia; Lambreschi, Ravenna; Michieli, Rome; Orii, Altino; Orseoli, Rome; Poli, Dalmatia; Quintavalle, Istria; Sagredi, Sebenigo; Tiepoli, Rimini; Troui, Ancona; Tradenigi or Transdominici, Pola.

The preceding names are adopted, with certain corrections, from Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi*, pp. 418–30). It is possible that a few of the families here mentioned may have come to Venice somewhat later; but it is difficult to arrive at any certainty on such a point.

[1] Nicolo Zeno il giovane (*Origine dei Barbari, che distrussero l'impero Romano, onde ebbe principio la Repubblica di Venezia.* 4o. Venetia, 1557).

Port of Ostia and the gates of Rome, was cruel and ungrateful enough to strip his fair accomplice of her jewels and ornaments, and to include her in the train of his captives, while he sacked the Capitol, and carried off the youth of both sexes as concubines or slaves.

Again, in 476, Romulus Augustulus, a patrician by birth, and the last of the Roman Emperors, was dethroned, and succeeded by Odoacer, King of the Heruli; and lastly, in 489, the latter prince was defeated and treacherously slain by Theodoric, a scion of the Amali, who in 493 founded in his own person the Gothic kingdom of Italy.

None of these revolutions affected, in any material degree, the fortunes or liberties of the Island Republic; and it is felt that the nature of the present work scarcely calls for any minute inquiry into the origin or general operation of the Gothic and Hunnic irruptions. Yet, at the same time, it should be observed that, while those accumulated disasters converted continental Europe into a desert and a charnel-house, they formed the basis of the future prosperity of the Merchant Princes of Venice, and laid the foundation of a State which was destined to have a conspicuous share in the moral regeneration of mankind, and in the reconstruction of the social fabric in Europe.[1]

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[1] "Fra tutti le nazioni d'Italia una sola pero ne ritrovo che mai provo gli effetti di tali rivoluzioni, che mai fù sottoposta al dominio distruggitore de' Barbari, e quest è la nazion Veneziana."—*Formalconi sulla Nautica antica de Veneziani*, 5.

During a long and peaceful reign of three-and-thirty years, Theodoric the Great was the lawgiver and the sovereign of a docile and obedient people, whose virtue and barbaric pride prompted them to imitate the arts and refinements of the nation which they had vanquished, and for a while, at least, to shun the vices which had insensibly grown up with those arts and those refinements. The Goths, who rapidly acquired the dominion of the vast region extending from Sicily to the Danube, and from Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean,[1] affected to disguise their power under the pleasing name of alliance or hospitality; and the wise moderation of their king led him to admit the Romans to the civil offices of the government, and not merely to tolerate, but to protect, the established religion of Italy.

Under the successors of this enlightened prince, the rapid decline of the empire which he had created, and the victories of the illustrious Belisarius, the lieutenant of Justinian, betrayed the gradual and furtive influence of climate and example over the susceptible mind of the Goth, and the partial regeneration of a martial spirit in the breast of the Roman; and although the brilliant achievements of two later monarchs, Vitigis and Totila, shed a parting ray of glory on the gloomy horizon, the commanding talents of the Eunuch Narses dispelled for ever the once cherished hope of restoring to the Gothic Kingdom of Italy the vigour and stability

[1] Gibbon (vol. ii. pp. 262–6, 275, 400–2).

which it had possessed under Theodoric. The fall of that short-lived monarchy was not postponed beyond the year 552, when Tejas, the successor of Totila, and the last of the Gothic Kings, was totally defeated on the banks of the Sarnus by the combined forces of the Greeks and Italians.

Among the well-known Letters of Cassiodorus, the Prætorian Prefect of Theodoric the Great, attention must now be drawn to two, which derive a peculiar value from the fact that no other monuments exist of the state of Venice during the domination of the Goths in the Peninsula.[1] The first[2] of these curious epistles records a famine which visited the Islanders about the year 520, and from which it appears that they were relieved by the humane interposition of Theodoric, who not only furnished them, in their distress, with every kind of provision, but permitted them to convert to their own use the corn and wine which they had collected, according to their annual custom, for the Royal Larder. The second epistle, which is, perhaps, the more important as well as the more remarkable of the two, was addressed in 523 to the Venetian Tribunes, who were therein exhorted not to neglect the transmission of the expected supplies of wine, oil, and honey from certain towns of Istria to the royal palace at Ravenna.

In point of substance and style, the latter exhibits a

[1] Sartorius (*Essai sur l'Etat civil et politique des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths*, p. 297. Paris, 1811).

[2] *Cassiodori Opera*, vol. i. p. 187: ed. 1729.

sense of power, softened by a love of Venetian institutions; and its tone, though in a few places slightly authoritative, is, generally speaking, that of solicitation and advice. It portrays, in gaudy but transparent hues, the beatific simplicity of the Venetians, whom the writer fancifully likens to water-fowl passing an amphibious existence among the lagoons of the Adriatic; and on the whole, the letter, while it may be regarded as a fair model of Gothic composition, must be accepted as an unique and highly interesting historical document.[1] At the same time it cannot but be suspected that, in giving publicity to a production which is certainly far too florid for a letter, far too vague and diffuse for a despatch, the vanity of the author slightly outran the zeal of the magistrate, and that Cassiodorus was hurried by a fondness for rhetorical effect and literary renown into the elaboration of a simple note, until the note became a long and graphic epistle.

"You," exclaims the Prefect, "who own numberless boats on the confines of Ravenna, exhibit, I pray you, your devotion by transporting thither the tributes of Istria. It is added to your other blessings that a path is opened to you, which is at all times exempt from danger: for when the winds rage, and the ocean is closed against you, it is left to you to sail up the pleasantest of rivers. Your ships fear not the sharp gusts. Towed by ropes, they skim along, and men

[1] Tiepolo (*Discorsi sulla Storia Veneta dal Signor Daru*, i. 25; Udine, 1828); Marin (*Commercio dei Veneziani*, i. 78); Sansovino (*Venetia descritta*, lib. xiii. p. 528); Salverte (*Civilisation—Venise*, p. 20).

assist the progress of their vessels with their feet. It is with satisfaction that I call to mind the manner in which your houses are situated. Venice on the south touches Ravenna and the Po; on the east, it enjoys the prospect of the Ionian shore, where the tide in its flow and in its ebb alternately veils and uncovers the face of Nature. Here you live like sea-birds. Your houses are like the Cyclades, scattered over a watery expanse. To the waves of the ocean you do not hesitate to oppose a frail barrier of dykes, flanked by fascines of interlaced vine-stems. Your population knows but one means of subsistence—its fisheries. There the poor man and his rich neighbour live in equality. One kind of nutriment is common to all: one kind of dwelling shelters all. You do not quarrel about your Penates. Your salterns are your sole source of contention. Instead of ploughs, instead of pruning hooks, you turn cylinders. Thence arises all that you have, and thence you procure the things which you have not. Among you, money is struck in any fashion for the purchase of food.[1] Any one is at liberty to seek gold; to find salt, there is no one but desires."

From the language which the Prefect employs, a deduction may be formed that while the Republic continued, under the Gothic rule, to enjoy her liberty and free institutions, her citizens tacitly acknowledged

[1] "Moneta quodammodo illic percutitur victualis." These five words have been understood by Salverte (*Civilisation: Venise—Raguse*, p. 15) to signify that the Venetians at this period were in the habit of circulating coins *made of salt*. The hypothesis may, or may not, be correct; but the inference is assuredly unfair.

a claim which they were too feeble and too wise to repudiate; and that, although no service was exacted from them beyond the periodical transmission in their flat vessels of wine, oil, and other necessaries to the royal kitchen, this gratuitous duty was mutually considered as a token of fealty and submission. At the same time it is not unlikely that the Venetians were employed by the Gothic princes as pilots and mariners, who were known to excel in threading the mazy and sinuous channels of the lagoons; and, while the defence of the frontiers of their extensive dominions engrossed the attention of Theodoric and his successors, the latter were not indisposed perhaps to accept the friendship of a small State, which was at once too poor to gratify their cupidity, and too insignificant to tempt their ambition.

Yet, although the policy of the Goths toward the Venetians seems to have been characterized by uniform moderation, the latter, sensible of their weakness, and jealous of their freedom, not unnaturally viewed their powerful neighbours with suspicion; and the Republic watched with extreme solicitude the progress of a war which broke out, shortly after the death of Theodoric, between his successors and the Greek Emperor. One instance, indeed, is recorded, in which their zeal carried them so far as to take an active share in the operations. In 550, the Eunuch Narses, the imperial lieutenant, whose head-quarters were then at Ravenna, being desirous of effecting a junction with a large body of Lombard mercenaries whom he had received into his

pay, and who were detained at Aquileia by a flood, solicited the aid of the Venetians, whose transports readily conveyed that valuable reinforcement to its proper destination. Two churches, one to Saint Theodore, who appears to have been chosen by the Islanders about this period as their Tutelary Saint, the other to the martyrs Menna and Geminian,[1] were soon afterward erected at Rialto, on a plot of ground known as the *Brolio*, in the district of *Gambarere*, in commemoration of the service of the Islanders, and as a token of the gratitude of Narses, by whose munificence Venice was placed in a position to indicate to future ages the origin and antiquity of her connexion with the court of Constantinople—a connexion which subsequently became so constant and so intimate.

After the death of Tejas, the task of constituting the Italian possessions of the Byzantine Court into a Viceroyalty or *Exarchate*, devolved on the victorious general; and Narses, who became the first of the Greek Exarchs of Ravenna, was represented in all the towns or cities which still revered the majesty of the purple, by a military *Duke*, whose authority was subordinate, and whose conduct was amenable, to the lieutenant of the Emperor. The successor of Belisarius governed and oppressed the Peninsula till the year 567, when Justin, alarmed by the murmurs of the Italians, signed an order for his recal, and sent Longinus to Ravenna in his stead. The late Exarch retired to Naples,

[1] Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi di Venezia*, p. 408).

where it is supposed that he died in obscurity, if not in want. It might be unwise to repose too implicit faith in the statement which imputed the fall of the general to his own misconduct. On the contrary, perhaps, it might have been more clearly traced in the weak and irresolute character of Justin, coupled with the notorious avarice of his consort; and it is possible that the deficiency of supplies and recruits, owing to the parsimonious policy of his employers, positively left the Exarch no choice between the loss and the oppression of his province. But whether the charges which were preferred against him were well founded or otherwise, it is certain that the sense of wrong rankled in the bosom of the fallen statesman. Nor was the soul of the favourite of Justinian superior to the study of revenge. For it may be read in a chronicle of those times, that the invasion of the peninsula in the following year (568) by Alboin, King of the Lombards, owed its origin no less than its success to the powerful intrigues and fatal resentment of the Eunuch Narses.[1]

The Winili, or Lombards (*Longobardi*), seem to have derived their origin from a common source with the Vandals, who traced their native settlements in the forests of Scandinavia. The new comers carried with them into the land of their adoption their manners, their religion, and their dress. They professed the tenets of Arius. They acknowledged the principles of elective and constitutional monarchy. Their kings were chosen

[1] Paulus Diaconus (*De Gestis Longobardorum*, lib. ii. c. 5).

by acclamation, and were crowned with military pomp. Thirty Dukes and a large number of inferior Nobles administered the offices of the State, and supported the dignity of the Throne; and the power of this Aristocracy, which in time of peace was almost unlimited, often reduced the Prince to a cypher, and his crown to a bauble. Compared with that of the Goths, the Lombard dominion had a long duration; and during the two hundred and six years which elapsed from the accession of Alboin, their first,[1] to the deposition of Aistulph, their last king, that people gradually achieved the subjugation of Tuscany, Piedmont, the Frioul, the Tyrol, the Milanese, the coast of Genoa, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, as well as a large portion of the Ecclesiastical States from Perugia to the Adriatic; and this ample superficies of territory was divided by the prevailing system of feuds into duchies, marquisates, and principalities, which the nobles taught their retainers to till with the plough, and to protect with the sword.

The Republic, on her part, contemplated not without inquietude the rise of a new monarchy on the skirts of the Lagoon; and while the Venetians affected to despise the manners of the Lombards, they watched their progress with the most uneasy sensations. They not unnaturally feared that as that people emerged, under the successors of Alboin, from barbarous obscurity, they might form the design of adding the Islands of

[1] *i. e.* the first King of the Lombards.

the Adriatic to their dominion, and thus of acquiring possession of the commercial advantages which were at present enjoyed by the Rialtine settlers. For the Lombards, though not ranking among maritime communities, were not absolutely strangers to the laws of navigation, or to the use of ships, which might place them in a position to reduce to their sway a small and feeble State, separated from their own territories only by a narrow and terraqueous strait. Moreover, the predatory visits of Lupus, Duke of the Frioul,[1] who traversed the Canals at low tide on horseback with his followers, and despoiled the churches of Heraclia, Equilo, and Grado,[2] soon afforded the Venetians sufficient proof that their insular situation was an insufficient barrier against the nocturnal inroads of an active and vigilant enemy, and that the equestrian skill of the Barbarians was capable of supplying to a large extent any deficiency in nautical knowledge.

[1] Speaking of the boundaries of Venice and Lombardy at this period, Muratori (*Dissert.* vol. i. p. 61) says: "A finibus Istriæ regrediendo in occidentalem et meridiem, si pauca excipias loca ad mare, sive inter paludes sita, universum littus Adriatici usque ad fines agri Ravennatis, comprehenso Comaclo (Commacchio), Longobardis regibus suberat, a quorum dominatione certum est exclusam fuisse inclytam Venetiarum urbem, unâ cum adjacentibus insulis. Illuc fortè aliquâ inani impressione, penetrâsse Longobardorum regum arma nemo scribit."

[2] Paulus Diaconus (*De Gestis Longobardorum*, p. 482). Dandolo (lib. vi. c. 18). Andrea Dandolo was born in 1310, and died in 1354.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 697–787.

Tyranny of the Tribunes—Change in the Government—Election of the first Doge, Paolo Luca Anafesto, of Heraclia (March, 697)—Authority of the Doge—The Reign of Anafesto (697–717)—Conclusion of Peace with the Lombards—Succession of Marcello Tagliano (717–26)—Orleo Orso, Doge (726–37)—Co-operation of Venice with the Greek Exarch in the Recovery of Ravenna—Tyranny and violent Death of Orso (737)—Another change in the form of Government—Appointment of the *Maestri della Milizia*—The nature of the new Office—Domenigo Selvo, first Master (737–8)—Felice Cornicola, Diodato Orso, Giuliano Cepario, Gio. Fabriciaco, successive Masters of the Horse (738–41)—Revival of the Ducal Office in favour of Diodato, the son of Orleo Orso (742)—Tragical end of Orso II. (755)—Usurpation of Galla Catanio—His Deposition and Death (756)—Domenigo Monegaro, Doge (756–65)—His bad Administration—His Excesses, and his Assassination by a Mob—Maurizio Galbaio, Doge (764–87)—The virtuous Character of that Prince, and his long and happy Reign—Association of his son Giovanni (778)—Considerations on the principle of Association—Death of Maurizio Galbaio (787).

THE depredations of the Lombards of the Frioul, which grew in the course of time bolder and more systematic in their character, certainly indicated great weakness on the part of the Venetian government. Yet it was equally certain that that weakness proceeded less from the want than from the division of strength. The factions by which the vain and grasping ambition of the Tribunes tore and distracted Venice at this period

had become a monstrous political and constitutional evil. They sapped the national prosperity; they impoverished and scandalized the Church; they obstructed trade and navigation; they made dreadful havoc on public and private property; they banished all safety and repose; and thoughtful and prudent men foresaw in their continuance nothing less than the ruin of the Commonwealth. The incursions of Duke Lupus were attended, at least, by one beneficial result. For they afforded those who might be disposed to institute reforms an admirable ground for bringing the matter more closely and immediately under the public observation; and, accordingly, in the course of March, 697, Cristoforo, patriarch of Grado, laid before the Arrengo a scheme which he had formed for changing the existing system of government, and for emancipating his country without more delay from a tyranny which oppressed, while it failed to protect, the nation.[1] The proposition of the metropolitan was almost unanimously adopted; its effect was to call upon the Tribunes to abdicate the sovereign power, and to place over them a Magistrate (*Capo dei Tribuni*), in whose person the people might vest an undivided authority. His title was to be Duke, or *Doge*.[2] His office was to be for life,

[1] Sabellico (*De Venetis Magistratibus*, sign. b. 2. edit. 1488). A notice of the origin of the Ducal office is to be found in the *Grande Chronique de Hollande, Zelande*, &c. lib. i. p. 79: edit. folio, Dordrecht, 1601: a copy of which is in the London Library.

[2] "Questa voce di Doge, o Duca," says Marin (vol. i. pp. 152–3), "è il *Dux* de Latini, che significa in senso generico condottiere si di una massa di gente che d'una greggia, come si legge nella *Cornucopia* del Sipontino

In him were to be centred the power and the majesty of the Republic, of which he was to be considered the civil, military, and ecclesiastical chief. He was to preside over the Synod as well as the Arrengo, either of which it was competent for *his serenity* to convoke or dissolve at pleasure; merely spiritual matters of a minor nature were alone, in future, to be intrusted to the clergy; and all acts of convocations, the ordination of a priest or deacon, the election and consecration of a patriarch or bishop, were to be accounted null and void unless they had received the sanction of the Doge.[1] In

alla voce *Dux*, ed in altri etimologisti. Si denota per questa parola in senso particolare il comandante, il generale di un esercito. E siccome per custodire e difendere una provincia vera d'uopo di corpo militare, chi presiedeva a questo corpo era detta Duce, Duca, o Doge della provincia, che la governava con superior autorità, da lui difendendo i Conti, che le città della provincia reggevano. . . . . E poichè nell' epoca, in cui fù stabilita la ducal podestà, era considerato in Italia il titolo di Duca il primo dopo gl'Imperadori e i Re; e morto Clefi, abolitosi il nome regio, aveano diviso i Longobardi il loro Stato in varii Ducati; così ad esempio loro diedero i nostri padri al nuovo governatore della Republica il titolo cospicuo di Doge, o Duca."

[1] Sandi (vol. i. lib. i.); Marin (vol. i. lib. iii.); Galibert (*Histoire de la Republique de Venise*, ch. iii. pp. 20, 21); *Reipublicæ Constitutio*, lib. ii. p. 25 (Harl. MSS. 4743). "Ullus est," inquires the last writer, "qui ignoret principem in urbe Venetâ personam regis ac speciem regiæ gubernationis præ se ferre?"

"Cum itaque," says Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. i.), "tribuni insularum de prioritate disceptantes, sibi ad invicem deferre non vellent, Longobardi absque resistentiâ eorum fines pluries invaserunt: quâ de re decreverunt unanimiter Ducem sibi præesse, qui æquo moderamine populum *sibi subditum* gubernaret, et vim atque potestatem haberet in publicis causis generalem concionem advocandi;—tribunos etiam et judices constituendi, qui in privatis causis, exceptis merè spiritualibus, *tam laïcis quam clericis*, æqualiter jura tribuerent. Ita tamen quod gravatis quandocunque liceat Ducis remedium implorare, *ejusque jussione clericorum concilia et electiones prælaturarum à clero et populo debeant inchoare, et electi ab eo investitionem suscipere, et ejus mandato intronizari.*" See also *Historia del*

fact, the latter became virtually, and in all material respects, the Sovereign of Venice, the Tribunes having now no higher function than the ministry of his will; and it was in matters of general or momentous concern only, that the Republic expected her first Magistrate to seek the concurrence or advice of the National Convention.

In countries where an independent government has long been established, and which are consequently not subject in the conduct of their affairs to external influences, it is matter of notoriety that any change which it may be thought proper to introduce into the administration can be effectuated without reference to other Powers, temporal or spiritual. But in a newly formed society like that of Venice, placed in the difficult situation in which the Republic found herself at the close of the seventh century, the case differed widely; and it ought to create no surprise that the

Governo Politico della Repubblica di Venezia, p. 2 (Egerton MSS. 18, 174). *Chronica della Magnifica Città di Venetia*, fol. 25 (King's MSS. 150); and *Chronicha di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venezia* (ibid.). "Quæcunque monumenta," says Muratori (*Dissertationes Medii Ævi*, vol. i. p. 240), "veterum Ducum Venetorum supersunt, supremâ eos potestate functos indicant."

"The first period of 900 years (of the history of Venice) presents us with the most interesting spectacle of a people struggling out of anarchy into order and power, and then governed, for the most part, by the worthiest and noblest man whom they could find among them, called their Doge, or leader, with an aristocracy gradually forming itself around him, out of which, and at last by which, he was chosen..... This first period includes the rise of Venice, her noblest achievements, and the circumstances which determined her character and position among European powers; and within its range, as might have been anticipated, we find all her hero-princes, Pietro Urseolo, Ordelafo Faliero, Domenico Michieli, Sebastiano Ziani, and Enrico (Arrigo) Dandolo."—RUSKIN.

patriarch Cristoforo and his supporters should have formed an unanimous determination to procure the adhesion and consent of the Holy See before any definitive steps were taken to carry the resolutions of the Popular Assembly into effect. The mission, which was immediately despatched for this purpose to Aquileia, where the Pope was then holding a Council, consisted of Michele Participazio (or Badoer) and two other Venetian citizens of good family. The result was eminently favourable. The foregoing circumstance forms, however, one of the points which have been adduced by the author of the *Squitinio della Libertà Veneta* as so many proofs against the original liberty of the Venetians; but the fact is, that for any such purpose the argument is utterly worthless. The Embassy of Participazio and his companions simply indicates the character of the opinions which were received at the time in Europe, as well as the strong consciousness on the part of the Patriarch of Grado and those who shared his views, of the expediency of throwing the voice and influence of the Head of the Church into the scale against the tyrannical ministry of the Tribunitial Oligarchy. There could be little doubt that the important change then contemplated in the political organization of the Republic would offend many local prejudices, and awaken a powerful feeling of jealousy and ill-will in certain quarters; and it was, therefore, not unreasonable that the revolutionary party should feel it to be of the highest moment, before they actually proceeded to overthrow the existing order of

things, to secure the countenance and support of the Papacy.

On the return of the Embassy from Aquileia with the desired reply, the Patriarch lost no time in calling on the National Assembly to follow up their late vote to its legitimate consequences; and after a protracted deliberation the choice of the people fell on Paolo Luca Anafesto,[1] a native of Heraclia, and a citizen of high standing in the commune. Anafesto was thereupon conducted to a Chair of State, which had been prepared for him in his parish church; and here he was solemnly invested by the Metropolitan *with a crown of gold and a sceptre of ivory.* (March, 697.)

With regard to the prerogative of peace and war, it appears that, in the original institution of the ducal office and title, this point was left, by accident or design, an open question. But it is probable that a free and ignorant people, as yet incapable of forming a just estimate of a new system, and unconscious of the rapid and insidious growth of despotism, were easily induced to leave in the hands of the chief magistrate a discretionary power in this respect; and we shall have occasion to observe that the early Doges of Venice not only decided the doubtful point in their own favour, but, in frequent instances, prostituted to purposes of private gain or personal revenge, the authority which they merely held in trust for the public advantage.[2]

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[1] Pietro Giustiniani (*Historie Venetiane*, lib. i. p. 5, edit. 1576).

[2] Tiepolo altogether repudiates the idea of a Venetian monarchy. Compare his views (*Discorsi*, vol. i. p. 119 *et seq.*) with those of Daru

It is a not unusual misconception that the change in the government of the Republic, by which Paolo Luca Anafesto was placed at the head of affairs, involved the simultaneous extinction of the tribunitial jurisdiction and title.[1] But the truth is that the Tribunes continued to exercise their functions subordinately to those of the Doge many generations after the revolution of 697; each island of importance, such as Malamocco and Equilo, had its own Tribune, while of the smaller islands, several contributed to form a Tribunate; and the office, though neither strictly nor properly hereditary, still preserved its tendency to perpetuate itself in a limited number of families. It is only subsequently to the twelfth century that little or nothing is heard of the Tribunes; and the probability is, that their authority had then been rendered almost totally obsolete by the progress of administrative reform and the gradual disappearance of the federal element in the constitution.

In the time of Anafesto, however, the state of parties at Venice was widely different; at that epoch, all the

(vol. i. p. 49); Galibert (*Hist. de Ven.* ch. iii. p. 20 *et seq.*); Sandi (vol. i. lib. i. art. 2); and all the other writers quoted above. "Primi illi (Duces)," says the author of the *Reipublicæ Constitutio* (Harl. MSS. 4743), "aliquando majoris auctoritatis fuere: postea vero, usu docente, paullatim institutis ac legibus potestas principis deducta fuit ad hanc temperationem quam cernimus."—p. 34.

[1] Giannotti (*Della Rep. de Veneziani*, p. 41):—"Tutte le nostre memorie che alle mie mani sono pervenute dicono che quando si cominciarono a creare i Dogi, se seguito medesimamente di creare i Tribuni, i quali ciascuno per se amministrasseno ragione nelle isole; mà si potesse appellare al Doge; nondimeno, dopo la creazione del primo Doge, rade volti di loro si fa menzione."

larger islands of the Dogado formed the seats of powerful factions; the disproportion in point of influence between the Crown and the Tribune of Malamocco or the Tribune of Equilo was but slightly marked; and the abolition of that magistracy was a much more sweeping measure than the reformers of 697 would have dared to propose.

The Doge Anafesto retained the direction of public affairs from 697 to 717;[1] and during that period he was unremitting in his attention to the duties of his high and respectable office. By his energy and tact the intestine discord, by which his country had suffered so much and so long, was pacified or quelled; the Equilese, especially, who had risen in open revolt, and had refused to pay their proportion, or to discharge their arrears of tithes, were persuaded—by the force which might compel them—to return to obedience. The civil war, which had lately broken out between Equilo and Heraclia, was terminated by the influential mediation of the Tribune Enrico, or Arrigo, Barbaromano, in whom Anafesto appears to have reposed unlimited confidence, and who was held in great respect by both factions; and the King of the Lombards, who, during a considerable period, had regarded the Republic with the eye of a conqueror, now condescended to ratify a treaty assigning to the Venetians the whole of the territory lying between the greater and the lesser Piave, empowering the Republic

[1] Caroldo: *Historia di Venetia*, p. 2 (Harl. MSS. 5020).

to erect boundary lines, and prohibiting either of the contracting parties from building a stronghold within ten miles of those lines.[1]

At the same time, the long reign of Anafesto, which extended over a space of twenty years, indicated the vacillating state of the public mind of Venice, still unprepared, as it seemed, to determine what form of government was most closely adapted to the nature of the country and the character of the people. Democracy had been a natural, almost an intuitive, tendency: monarchy can only be regarded as an equally natural experiment.

Anafesto died in 717;[2] he was succeeded by his Magister Militum, Marcello Tagliano,[3] who reigned nine years; and who left a reputation for the possession

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[1] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. i.). Sanudo (*Vite de' Duchi*, p. 443). Marin (vol. i. p. 154–5). "Cum Luitprando vero rege inconvulsæ pacis vinculum," says Sagorninus, "confirmavit, apud quem pacti statuta quæ nunc inter Veneticorum et Langobardorum populum manent, impetravit." See also Muratori (*Dissertationes*, vol. i. p. 56).

[2] He was buried in the church of his native city of Heraclia. *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 1 (Harl. MSS. 4820:—Caroldo: Ibid. No. 5020).

[3] "*Magistri* quoque *Militum*," says Muratori (*Dissertationes Medii Ævi*, vol. i. p. 194), "olim appellati Principes, quibus civitatis regimen committebatur. Qui titulus aut minorem aut breviorem quam ducis auctoritatem nescio an indicaret." The title was not peculiar to Venice. It existed also at Naples and Amalfi. (See *Dissert.* vol. i. p. 200.) But it does not appear that the office with which Tagliano was invested was anything more than that of a Gastaldo or Tribune, with authority subordinated to that of the Doge. It is not at all improbable that among the Venetians the Magister Militum was the confidential adviser of the Doge —an officer who was invested with the general superintendence of public affairs, and we should perhaps recognize in the institution the first germ of a Privy Council. At Amalfi and at Naples, the office of *Magister Militum* possessed a higher degree of importance. There he was himself the supreme magistrate.

and exercise of useful abilities. It was not till the latter part of the career of Orleo Orso, third Doge, who replaced Tagliano in 726, that the people had an opportunity of testing the real value of the organic change which they had effectuated in their political system.[1]

In the earlier stages of his administration, Orso, who proved himself to be of an active and enterprising character, occupied his leisure in familiarizing the Venetian youth with the use, and training them to the exercise, of arms; and they were also indebted to him for the establishment of schools of Artillery, where they were able to acquire a knowledge of the mode of conducting the operations of a siege, and of managing projectile engines and batteries. Otherwise, the reign of Orso was remaining wholly uneventful, and the signs of the times appeared to be favourable to the general impression that he would end his days, like his two predecessors, in honour and peace, when an incident occurred which changed altogether the complexion of affairs.

In 735, Ravenna, which the successors of Narses still retained as their place of residence and as the seat of their Viceregal government, fell into the hands of the Lombards, under Luitprand their king, who confided the defence and preservation of the conquest to his nephew Ildeprand, and to Perideus, Duke of

[1] "Hic (Ursus) nobilis Heraclianus, incola in Heraclîâ, Dux concorditer factus; decus patriæ inclytis actibus plurimum auxit."—*Dandolo* (lib. vii. p. 134).

Vicenza.[1] The Exarch, Paul Eutychius, finding safety only in flight, sought a temporary shelter in the neighbouring Lagoon; the illustrious fugitive was kindly and hospitably received by the chief magistrate of the Venetians; and his application to Orso for assistance was promptly seconded by a letter from the Roman Pontiff, who earnestly implored the Republic to co-operate with Eutychius in rescuing Ravenna from the Lombards.[2] The arrival of a stranger of distinction at Venice was an event unparalleled in the short annals of the Commonwealth; and, from the important character of the object which he had in view in directing his steps toward the Lagoon, the visit of the Exarch of Ravenna was certainly such as might tend to give a new turn to men's thoughts. The successor of Marcello Tagliano was personally ambitious of distinction, and impatient of repose; a prospect now seemed to be opening before him of acquiring a high reputation among his fellow-citizens, of which his tranquil reign had theretofore excluded the possibility; and the Doge determined to use all his influence in prevailing on the Republic to enlist herself in the cause of Eutychius and the Holy See. The epistle of Gregory the Third, which was couched in terms apt to flatter the pride of a rising yet obscure State, was therefore read by Orso[3] in the presence of the popular assembly; he strongly

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 12).

[2] "Gregorius episcopus, servus, etc. Dilecto filio Urso duci Venetiarum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quia peccato," &c.

[3] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. iii.); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 444).

advocated a compliance with the joint prayer of the Pope and the Exarch; and his appeal to the nation was powerfully supported by the growing uneasiness with which the Venetians regarded the overbalancing power of the Lombard Kings. In short, after becoming deliberation, the Arrengo decided on espousing the just pretensions of Eutychius. In taking this adventurous step, by which it was exceedingly likely that they would incur the vengeance of a neighbouring Power and a nominal ally, there can be no doubt that the Islanders were actuated chiefly by a desire to ingratiate themselves with the Court of which the Exarch was the representative: a people wise in their generation were sensible that it was of the utmost consequence to a community, to whom commerce was of vital essentiality, to cultivate the friendship of the masters of Constantinople and the Euxine; and it is worthy of note, how even at this early epoch the Republic hazarded her present existence for the sake of her future welfare, and learned to consider the good-will of the rulers of Italy secondary to the good-will of the Byzantine Court. The Fishermen of Rialto were already playing, in truth, for a great stake;—whether they would lose it or win it, was still gravely problematical. But the die was cast.

In the meantime, the Lombard king, having left a numerous garrison in Ravenna, under the joint charge of his nephew and of the Duke of Vicenza,[1] had drawn

[1] B. Giustiniani (lib. x.: edit. Ven. 1545, 8vo.). The edition of Giusti-

off his troops from that place, and lay, at present, encamped at some distance. The moment was favourable, therefore, to the prosecution of the enterprise. Still, the prudent Doge determined to proceed with wary steps, and to have recourse to a stratagem. The design of Orso consisted in circulating a report that Eutychius had failed to carry his object, and, at the same time, in favouring a supposition that the small fleet, which was soon in course of preparation in the dockyard of Venice, was destined shortly to sail on an expedition to the East;[1] while, in reality, the Exarch proceeded to Imola, with the intention of raising an auxiliary corps, and the Doge was exerting every means in his power to be in readiness, on a given night, to act in concert with his new ally before the walls of Ravenna. The feint was ingenious, well-executed, and successful: at the same time that a few troops, under Eutychius, invested Ravenna on the land side, a small squadron under the Doge blockaded Classis from the sea;[2] and the Lombards, puzzled how to act, or in which direction to turn their arms, situated as they were between two foes, found it necessary, after a brief though manful resistance, in which Perideus fell, and Ildeprand was taken prisoner, to surrender and

niani which I have used is that in Latin, 1492, fol. The work was translated into the vernacular by Lodovico Domenichi, and printed at Venice in 1545, 8vo.; another edition appeared in 1608, 8vo.

[1] B. Giustiniani (lib. x. p. 115).

[2] Ravenna was divided into two parts: that on the side of the land was especially so called; the part which lay toward the harbour was designated *Classis*.

evacuate the city. The Exarch was immediately reinstated in his viceroyalty; the anger of the Lombard king was mollified by the free release of his nephew;[1] and the services of Orso were rewarded by the Byzantine Court with the honorific title of Hypatos, or Imperial Consul.

Thus, then, the earliest undertaking of the Venetians had been completely triumphant; and the auspicious issue of the late operation was injudiciously ascribed, in principal, if not exclusive measure by his party and connexions to the personal valour and address of the Doge himself. The latter was too weak to withstand the voice of flattery: he was flushed and elated to an inordinate extent by his success—the first success of the Venetians; and the extravagant encomiums which proclaimed him a hero not unnaturally led him to believe that he might be a tyrant. It was therefore not long before the Republic discovered that she had acquired glory and reputation only at the expense of happiness and liberty; and although there might be a natural tendency on the part of the Venetians to extend a certain degree of indulgence to an abuse which they had not anticipated, they soon found it impossible to tolerate the successive encroachments of Orso on those rights which they had been taught to consider as peculiarly the rights of the people. A Civil War was the ultimate consequence; and during that ominous struggle, which is said to have lasted through

[1] Gio. Giac. Caroldo: *Historia di Venetia*, p. 50 (Harl. MSS. 5020).

nearly two years, the Heraclians zealously supported their illustrious townsman in a course of policy which seemed to have as its aim nothing less than the concentration of the whole power of the State in the person of an individual. At length, however, the strength of Heraclia was overmatched, and her resources were exhausted: the Popular Party gained the ascendency; and in a general insurrection of the multitude the palace was forced, and the Doge was assassinated (737).[1] At the same time, his only son Diodato, who was made perhaps to participate in the punishment without having shared in the offence of the elder Orso, was condemned by the people to perpetual banishment.

It is easy to imagine that the several Factions in Venice viewed the fate of Orso with a various sentiment of horror or indignation; it is to be imagined, also, that the rage which had maddened and convulsed the reasoning faculties of the people subsided gradually into a mixed feeling of grief and regret. The malignant and deep-rooted animosity of the few to whom the late Doge might have rendered himself more peculiarly obnoxious was possibly less transient; but the people at large did not long retain their resentment: the passions most easily provoked were those most easily assuaged; and it is rational to conclude that those who most partook exulted least in the crime.

A change, or at least a modification, in the actual

[1] The *Chronica di Venetia* (Harl. MSS. No. 4820) says, that he was assassinated "per i suoi meritti."

form of government, was, however, the point now contemplated and desired. A new People, imbued strongly with the love of freedom and with the hatred of oppression, wished to create a chasm between the past and the future, to draw a curtain over the loathsome spectacle which had so recently betrayed the violence of party spirit. After a few years' experience, not the arbitrary nature and the unlimited duration of the ducal authority only, but the very title of Doge, had grown offensive in their eyes. And as it appeared that the object which they had in view was not to be accomplished[1] except by a relapse to the system of annual elections, they decided in Arrengo on appointing in the place of the Doge a magistrate who should be invested during the term of one year with supreme authority, and should bear the already familiar title of *Magister Militum*, which had hitherto existed at Venice only in connexion with an office of subordinate rank. The popular choice fell, in the first instance, on Domenigo Selvo, surnamed *Lioni*,[2] a Malamocchese; and at the close of a twelvemonth, Selvo was succeëded by Felice Cornicola, also a citizen of Malamocco (738).

The character of Cornicola was mild and unassuming;[3] and the justness and moderation of his rule ultimately gained for him so much influence and

[1] Sabellico (*De Ven. Magistratibus*, sign. c.).

[2] Navagiero (*Storia Veneziana*, p. 935). *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 1 (Harl. MSS. 4820). Caroldo: *Hist. di Venetia*, p. 2 (Harl. MSS. 5020).

[3] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. 9).

favour among his fellow-citizens, that he prevailed on the latter to rescind the sentence of exile which, during the Revolution of 737, had been pronounced against Diodato Orso, the late Doge's son. In the same year Cornicola resigned his functions, and Diodato, whose popularity had constantly been on the increase since his recal, was chosen to replace him (739). The son of the Doge Orso gave the electors no reason to regret their preference; but his family and adherents were, at the same time, defeated in their attempt to procure his re-election; and, on the expiration of the twelfth month, the Master vacated his seat in favour of Giuliano Ceparia (740),[1] whose zeal and good fortune in achieving the second recovery of Ravenna from the Lombards were recompensed, as in the case of the Doge Orso, with the title of Imperial Consul. The successor of Ceparia, and the fifth of the Masters of the Horse, was Giovanni Fabriciaco, who was called to the magisterial chair in 741. Upon the installation of Fabriciaco, the ex-Master, Diodato Orso, who had been once more canvassing among his political supporters for re-election, and who had been consequently doomed to a second disappointment, became more active than ever in his intrigues; his conduct naturally awakened a feeling of jealousy and dislike in the breast of his successful opponent, toward whom, on his part, he had of course conceived corresponding sentiments; and the breach between the two

[1] *Historia Venëta Secreta* (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8578).

rivals widened daily. Fabriciaco spared no efforts to weaken the influence of the new candidate for power; but the established popularity of the latter, seconded, it is alleged, by the excesses of the Master himself, gradually gained such ascendency over the public mind, that before the expiration of Fabriciaco's year of office, a well-organized faction, secretly instigated by Orso, revolted against the authority of the chief magistrate, blinded him, and drove him into exile.[1]

The institution, to which his tyrannical conduct had helped perhaps to attach a certain odium, was then formally abolished,[2] and the dogate was restored in the person of Diodato Orso, who was invested with his father's sceptre in the new Palace at Malamocco (742).[3] To the reign of Orso II., which embraced a period of thirteen years, three events only are assigned—the renewal of the treaty, which Anafesto had concluded, about 700, with the King of the Lombards; an earthquake, which deluged the islands; and a conspiracy, which terminated the life of the Doge.

The election of Orso II. furnished a proof of the zeal, affection, and influence of the family to which he belonged; it also served to excite the jealous enmity of his disappointed rivals, among whom Galla Catanio, the son of the Tribune of Malamocco, was the most

[1] For this and what immediately precedes, see Sagorninus (*Chron.* 13). Marin (i. 187). Also *Historia Secreta Veneta*, fol. 8 (Add. MSS. 8578).

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 16).

[3] B. Giustiniani (lib. xii. p. 119). *Hist. Secreta*, fol. 9 (Add. MSS. 8578).

deserving of notice, and had been the most confident of success.[1] Catanio, who knew that he might safely rely on the steady cohesion and support of his own townsmen and their allies of Equilo in any political movement against the Heraclian Doge, was too firm of purpose and too fond of power to abandon, without a struggle, his claim to the throne: nor was he generous enough to forgive a more fortunate competitor; and he was no sooner apprised of the election of Diodato than he began to concert secret measures for getting rid of the unsuspecting object of his resentment. The formation of his plans was attended, indeed, by less difficulty than was their execution. The conspirator watched in vain for a suitable occasion of carrying his views into effect, and Catanio was ultimately enabled to gain his nefarious ends only by construing a measure of precaution on the part of the Doge into an emblem of tyranny. The large island of Chioggia had been divided from the earliest times into two parts:—one was known as *Sotto-Marina*, the other was called *Brondolo*. The latter, situated between Sotto-Marina and the mouth of the Adige, had long been regarded by the Doge as a point where the Republic might expect and must repel an invasion from without; he determined to strengthen the important position; and the progress of the fortifications, which rapidly grew under his eye, was observed by Catanio with secret satisfaction and feigned distrust. A report was speedily circulated that the very man who

[1] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. 9). Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 446). B. Giustiniani (lib. xi. pp. 124–5). Filiasi (vol. v. p. 24).

affected a desire to secure Venetian independence, harboured an infamous project for destroying it; and that the patriotism, which the people might be disposed to admire, was nothing more than a mask which served to disguise the ambitious designs of a crafty tyrant.[1] Nor was this interpretation of the policy and plans of the Doge rejected by the majority: in his suspicions and denunciations, Catanio was believed to be just and honest; and on one occasion, as Diodato was surveying the works at Brondolo, he was surprised and cruelly butchered by the conspirators,[2] who precipitately returned to Malamocco, and proclaimed their leader Doge of Venice (755).[3]

Catanio, it is to be noted, had been invited by his supporters and political friends to accept the crown as a well-earned reward for his patriotic vindication of popular freedom;—in other words, he ascended the throne as the champion of republican liberty. But the same audacious and unprincipled love of power which had led the successor of Orso the Second to usurp, led him also to abuse an authority which now seemed to recognize no other limit than the will of the prince and the patience of the people. An absolute sovereign, while he needed no provocation, knew no restraint; and during a brief and odious career of fourteen months,

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[1] Bernardo Giustiniani (lib. xi. p. 125); Sagorninus, 16.

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 16); B. Giustiniani (*ubi suprà*).

[3] *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 2 (Harl. MSS. No. 4820). *Historia di Venetia*, 695–1439, p. 3 (Ibid. No. 3549). *Chroniche di tutte le Casade del Città di Venezia* (King's MSS. British Museum, 150).

his shameless excesses excited the mingled dread and aversion of all classes of his unfortunate subjects. On the expiration of that period, however, the people rebelled against their government, seized the person of the tyrant, exoculated him, and drove him into banishment.[1] Domenigo Monegaro, another citizen of Malamocco, was chosen (756) as his successor; and the prudence of the National Assembly, which had been taught by sad experience, assigned to the new Doge a Privy Council of two members, whose sanction was pronounced necessary, before any public act could become valid. These magistrates, whose authority was designed to operate as a check on the Ducal Prerogative, were of tribunitial rank: their names were Candiano Candiano and Angelo Badoer, the latter of whom, an Heraclian by birth, was gastaldo or tribune of Rialto. But the fierce and stubborn character of Monegaro rendered the innovation utterly useless; and during a reign of eight years, he obeyed without reserve the dictates of a sensual and ferocious disposition. Judicial awards were regulated or reversed at his whim or caprice; the Laws and the Constitution were set at nought; the honour of women was treated with outrage; the social and political rights of the citizens were violated; even the ties of friendship and blood, which it was most clearly the interest of Monegaro to cherish, he spurned or neglected in the intoxication of power; and the

[1] A tragedy was founded on this subject in 1797, by Gio. Pindemonti, and it long enjoyed popularity.

efforts of the Privy Council to curb his excesses were uniformly ineffectual. But the crimes and follies of the Doge recoiled, in the end, on his own head;[1] and in the eighth year of his odious reign, the tyrant was massacred within the very precincts of the Ducal Palace by the insurgent multitude (764).

Monegaro was replaced by Maurizio Galbaio or Calbani,[2] of Heraclia, a person of great experience, whose wise moderation presented a bright contrast to the savage and intractable ferocity of his immediate predecessors; and the nation which had learned to esteem the Citizen of Heraclia had soon an opportunity of admiring the just and temperate policy of the Doge of Venice, who carried to the Throne the virtues which had adorned a private station.[3]

Two years after the accession of Galbaio, a Convocation of the Clergy was held, in which it was resolved that, with the sanction and concurrence of the Doge, the islands of Rialto, Gemelle or Zimole, Luprio, Dorsoduro, and Olivolo, which had theretofore been embodied with the Bishopric of Malamocco, should be withdrawn from that exclusive jurisdiction, and erected into a separate and independent See. Galbaio was far from offering any objection to the proposed change; and he evinced his anxiety to heal party differences by nominating Obelalto di Antenori, the son of the Tri-

[1] *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 2 (Harl. MSS. 4820).
[2] Ibid., and Gio. Giac. Caroldo, *Hist.* (Harl. MSS. No. 5020).
[3] *Genere nobilis, inclytis gestis nobilior.*—DANDOLO.

bune of Malamocco,[1] and nephew of the Tribune of Equilo, first Bishop of *Olivolo* (766),

During the fourteen years which elapsed from the death of Monegaro, his successor continued to unite under his mild and paternal sway a happy and thriving community of merchants, artificers, mechanics, and fishermen; in that brief and tranquil interval the intestine feuds which had so long been a burden and reproach to the nation at large were pacified; and commerce and navigation, which had languished during the feeble and turbulent reigns of Fabriciaco, Catanio, and Monegaro, revived under the wise and vigorous administration of Maurizio Galbaio. A fresh impulse was given, in short, to public affairs; civil dissension ceased, at last, to exercise a baleful influence over the Commune; and the spirit of partisanship, which had tainted the national mind and had corroded the national energy, now gave place to a benign spirit of concord. Thus, for the first time since the death of the excellent Marcello Tagliano in 726, the Venetians were once more governed by a virtuous prince, and the latter was, on his part, the ruler of a people anxious to afford him testimony of their gratitude and love. It was the wish of the Republic to do especial honour to a man who displayed such constant and earnest solicitude for the national welfare, and who shewed such untiring and, as it seemed, unselfish zeal in the service of his country;

[1] *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. ii. p. 47. *Archivio Storico*, 98.

and in 778, Giovanni Galbaio, the Doge's only son, was invited by the legislature to divide with his father the power which Maurizio had used so well.[1]

Without finding any corresponding advantages, it is easy to detect many obnoxious features in the custom, which had thus originated, of associating the son with the father in the chief authority. In the first place, it was a custom which clearly tended, to a large extent, to endanger public order and to promote civil discord. Secondly, that unity of purpose and action, which it had been the leading aim of the men of 697 to establish, the system of coparceny was calculated on every account to destroy. Thirdly, while it afforded the reigning House still ampler means than at present of indulging private pique or personal ambition, it prepared the Republic to conceive a distaste for a form of government which otherwise seemed tolerably suitable to her character and wants. Besides, it was exceedingly probable that the precedent which had been thus furnished by popular enthusiasm would be quoted and abused by succeeding Doges, who, without possessing the same moderation, might not unnaturally desire to enjoy the same privilege as Galbaio I.

The evils of the new institution did not obtrusively manifest themselves, however, during the lifetime of Maurizio, who discountenanced perhaps any attempt on

[1] "Eodem anno (778), Veneti avidi Mauricio Duci satisfacere, qui in negotiis publicis laudabiliter se habuerat, Joannem, ejus natum dignitatis consortem, *et postea successorem* collaudârunt; duosque Duces eodem tempore Veneti habere cœperunt, perniciosæ rei exemplum successoribus relinquentes."—*Dandolo* (lib. vii. p. 147).

the part of Giovanni to overstep the just limits of his authority. But in 787[1] Galbaio the First died, leaving the sole government of the Republic in the hands of his son; and the latter, who proved himself a direct contrast to his illustrious parent in point of character, soon shewed his country how unwisely and imprudently she had acted in engrafting on the constitution the associating principle.

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[1] *Chroniche Veneziane dall' origine della Città sino al* 1616. 3 vols. folio. (Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 8579, fol. 49.)

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 787–864.

The Character of Galbaio II.—His Excesses—Association of his Son Maurizio (Galbaio III.) (796)—Murder of the Patriarch of Grado—Profound Sensation throughout Venice—Conspiracy of the Antenori and others against the Galbaii—Civil War—The Antenori Faction invokes the Aid of the Court of France—Banishment of the Galbaii, and Elevation of Obelerio di Antenori to the Throne (804)—Association of his Brother Beato—Internal Dissensions—Destruction of Heraclia—Co-operation of Venice with the Greeks in the Siege of Commachio—Failure of that Undertaking—First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople—Disagreements in the Family of Antenori—Association of Valentino di Antenori (808)—Charlemagne solicits the Assistance of the Republic—The Venetians decline to accede to his Proposal—Exile of the Antenori—The Emperor declares War against Venice—His Son Pepin attacks the Islands with a Fleet—His complete Discomfiture (809)—Angelo Badoer, Doge (809–827)—His long and peaceful Reign—Successive Association of his sons Giovanni and Giustiniani—Badoer II., Doge (827–29)—Association of his Brother Giovanni—Translation of the Body of Saint Mark from Alexandria (829)—Saint Mark becomes the Patron Saint of the Republic—Death of Giustiniani—Giovanni Badoer (Badoer III.), sole Doge (829–36)—Return of the Exile Obelerio to Venice—His Conspiracy, Capture, and Execution—Destruction of Malamocco—Deposition of Badoer III.—Pietro Tradenigo, Doge (836–64)—His long and eventful Reign—His Tragical End (864)—Short Interregnum—Orso, the grandson of Angelo Badoer, Doge.

GALBAIO THE SECOND possessed not that wisdom[1] which had distinguished, in so marked a degree, the

[1] "Verbo et opere patri dissimilis, commoda patriæ non bene tractavit."—*Dandolo* (lib. vii. p. 148).

late Doge his father; and a systematic course of gross misconduct gradually estranged from him the affections of the people, while it forfeited the rich bequest which the venerable Maurizio had transmitted to his son, in the love and good-will of a nation. Galbaio was licentious, profligate, and cruel; haughty and overbearing in disposition, in temper hasty and vehement; and while he wanted that commanding and transcendent genius which of bad men sometimes makes great Princes, he was destitute of the milder virtues by which men of moderate views and capacity may win national confidence and favour.

The odious[1] and unhappily long reign of Galbaio II. recalled to memory the dark days of Monegaro, Galla, and Fabriciaco, the nadir of the national glory and prosperity. Once more the citizens were exposed to robbery and rapine, their kinswomen to dishonour and insult. Once more justice was openly bought and sold; corruption and perjury again became general. Magistrates were bribed, witnesses were suborned; trifles were construed at pleasure into faults, faults were magnified in like manner into crimes; and the Doge and his satellites had recourse to the most tyrannical and arbitrary measures in the indulgence of their cupidity or caprice, while they plunged without reserve into every wild excess which afforded gratification to their avarice or lust. The wealthy and the beautiful might save their lives by the sacrifice of their fortune

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 17). Bernardo Giustiniani (lib. xii.; Venetia, 1545, 8vo).

or their honour; but an ignominious fate awaited such as might in any manner have thwarted or displeased that licentious crew, and who were neither in a position to pacify nor to captivate their venal enemies. Still, it appears that nine years of bad and oppressive government were insufficient to exhaust the forbearance of the people; and when the audacious tyrant ventured, in 796, to solicit that privilege, they made no attempt to oppose the association of his only son Maurizio (Galbaio III.), who had down to this time dissembled his vices with difficulty and care. It can hardly, however, be surprising that the new Doge, whose milder counsels it was hoped or imagined would exert a softening influence over the mind of Giovanni, soon evinced a disposition to share rather than to check the excesses of the latter. It was not to be expected that a prince who from his youth had been accustomed to witness deeds of violence sanctioned by impunity, and even applauded by servile adulation, would afford an example worthy of imitation, still less one which such a father would choose to imitate. And, in fact, during the next nine years, the two Galbaii seemed to vie with each other in abusing the honourable privilege which their ancestor had acquired by his virtuous moderation.

On the death of Obelalto di Antenori, first Bishop of Olivolo, in 797, the Byzantine Court prayed the elder Galbaio to nominate as his successor Cristoforo Damiato, a young man of five-and-twenty,[1] and a

[1] *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. ii. p. 47. *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.

relative of the Exarch of Ravenna. The Doge, who, in common with the Heraclian Faction to which he belonged, was possessed by a conviction of the high importance of adopting a conciliatory policy toward the Lower Empire, offered no objection to the proposition; Damiato was appointed to the See, and he merely awaited consecration at the hands of Giovanni, the aged patriarch of Grado. The latter, however, was too conscientious and bold not to express a feeling of displeasure and disgust at the ordination of a youth, who was not even a Venetian: and he staunchly refused to administer the holy oil, or to bear a part in casting the first blot on the untarnished honour of the Church. The Doge expostulated; but the resolution of the old man was unalterable. Galbaio insisted; and in the vehemence of his wrath the former proceeded to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against both the Doge and Damiato. Galbaio and his son were amazed at the audacity of their Metropolitan; and Maurizio especially, who now abundantly proved that he was not unworthy of such a parent, burning with impatience to wreak his vengeance on the common object of their resentment, hastened, with his father's concurrence, to Grado, entered that town without opposition at the head of a few troops, and, seizing the unfortunate prelate, caused him to be hurled from the loftiest tower of his own palace.

The report of this dastardly deed flew from island to island, until the sad truth became generally known in Venice; the indignation of the people was easily legible

in threats, invectives, and murmurs; and the Galbaii, perceiving that they had gone somewhat too far, made an attempt to avert the gathering storm by offering the vacant pallium to Giovanni's nephew, Fortunato of Trieste. But a crime of such deep dye was inexpiable. The late catastrophe was one of a kind which, in any age and under any circumstances, was calculated to awaken a sentiment of the deepest abhorrence: in an age when the priesthood was in such high repute, and under such circumstances, it amounted to a sacrilegious enormity. Independently of his sacred character and of his holy office, Giovanni had rendered himself, by his gentle manners and amiable disposition, universally popular; his cruel and melancholy fate was therefore deplored by all classes of the community; all joined in reprobating his murder as a horrible outrage on religion and humanity; and while Fortunato, too ambitious to have a delicate sense of honour, accepted the proffered dignity, he neither renounced the desire, nor relinquished the hope, of obtaining ultimate satisfaction for the injury which his family had sustained.

In the relations which subsisted, in the eighth and ninth centuries, between Venice and the Empire of the West, there appears to have been little cordiality. Yet at the same time they were friendly and almost uninterrupted; and while those denizens of the Adriatic Lagoon persevered through every phase of fortune in the design which the Republic had formed in her infancy of securing at any cost the exclusive patronage

of the Byzantine Court, the Venetians, judging wisely that their rank as an Italian State must largely depend on their progress as a trading community, hesitated not to solicit, at the hands of the successors of Alboin and Clovis, the valuable right of commerce and of way on the rivers which irrigated the plains of Lombardy and France.[1] Still, in the estimation of a true Venetian, the Franks and the Lombards stood almost as low in the scale of civilization as the Huns and the Vandals. They might certainly be less ferocious and blood-thirsty in character, in condition somewhat more refined and enlightened. But their language seemed to be equally barbarous, their manners equally rude, their dress equally uncouth;[2] and a people who prided themselves especially on their direct descent from the Romans, and whose habits of life brought them in closer contact than any other European nation of that day with the polite inhabitants of the Levant, had insensibly contracted a secret feeling of contempt for the bellicose and illiterate natives of Gaul. Moreover, the Venetians were disposed to consider that an adhesion to the empire of Charlemagne afforded no security for the national liberty and independence; while they were well aware that to break off their connexion with the Court of Constantinople was to strike at the root of their commercial prosperity.

On the other hand, there was, at the present time, a

[1] Allou (*Monumens des différens Ages observés dans la Haute-Vienne.* 4to. Paris, 1821).

[2] It was a Venetian (Francesco Lodovici), however, who wrote the *Triomfi di Carlo*; Venezia, 1535, 4to.

small yet rising party in Venice, who were led by disgust at the conduct of the two Galbaii, or possibly by more selfish motives, to regard the Franks and their neighbours with a less intolerant eye, and to view a more intimate alliance with the empire of the Carlovingians as accessory to the welfare, and not wholly inconsistent with the dignity, of the Republic. That party whose number and influence were steadily in the ascendant already counted among its leading constituents Obelerio di Antenori, Tribune of Malamocco, and the brother of the late Bishop of Olivolo, Demetrio Marmano, and Giorgio Foscari;[1] it was now at once joined by the new Patriarch of Grado, who probably expected to be placed thus in a position to accomplish his own private ends.

This political schism rekindled the War of the Factions; instead of being rent by innumerable divisions, as in the era of the Tribuneship, the State was now distracted by a deadly feud between two great rival parties; and those parties might not inaptly be denominated the *Franks* and the *Greeks*. The former, which comprised the Patriarch of Grado and his adherents, advocated the expediency of departing from the immemorial policy of Venice, and of establishing a closer connexion between the Republic and the Court of France; the latter, consisting of the Galbaii themselves, and of the citizens of Heraclia, were averse, on the

[1] *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 4 (Harl. MSS. 4820). Caroldo, *Historia di Venetia*, p. 2 (Ibid. 5020). *Chronica delle Casade della Città di Venezia*, p. 204 (King's MSS. 150). Pietro Dolfino (*Annali Veneti*, p. 9, King's MSS. 149).

ground of affection and interest, from the introduction of any such change.

The first stage of the new Civil War was, however, of comparatively brief duration: for an extensive conspiracy, which had been secretly organized by the Frank Party against the Galbaii, was, by the indiscretion of its members, prematurely detected; and those implicated had obviously no other course open to them but an immediate flight from Venice, and an appeal to their French patron for protection and sympathy. Fortunato himself repaired accordingly to the Court of Charlemagne; Antenori, Marmano, and Foscari remained at Treviso,[1] where they purposed to watch the progress of events, and to raise the standard of revolt against Giovanni and his son.

The side which was taken by the Greek Party in this question may appear to have been the wiser and the nobler of the two: yet, at the same time, it is extremely possible that their adhesion to the Byzantine Court was attributable to causes with which we are left unacquainted. For instance, there is an obscure tradition that toward the close of the reign of Galbaio I. Charlemagne thought proper to resent some real or imagined insult on the part of the Islanders, by confiscating the whole of the property which the Merchants of Heraclia had gradually acquired on the *terra firma*; and if there be any truth in this story, it might be fair to infer that the strong reluctance evinced by the Greek Faction to place the relations of their country with the

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 19).

French Empire on a firmer or friendlier footing had arisen, in large measure, from that circumstance.

His sacred attributes, his high station, the wrongs of his family, above all, the position which he occupied as chief and representative of the French Faction in Venice, insured the Patriarch of Grado a gracious reception at the hands of Charlemagne, and in his interview with that great man, the astute churchman failed not to improve the natural advantages which he enjoyed, by offering every homage which the son of Pepin might account due to his rank and genius. Opening the conference with a full and highly varnished relation of the murder of his uncle, the Primate dwelled for some time on the wanton and flagitious character of that act. He next proceeded to expatiate on the injurious effects of the new system of association, which (he said) was gradually transforming an elective magistracy into an hereditary despotism.[1] He then drew the attention of Charles to the present state of public feeling in Venice, to the increasing disgust with which the infamous tyranny of Giovanni and Maurizio Galbaio was inspiring all classes of the citizens, and the consequently growing inclination, on the part of the people generally, to swell the ranks of the French Faction. Then, in allusion to a recent treaty between Charlemagne and the Byzantine Court,[2] which had declared Venice a free republic, attached by the ties of friendship and interest only to the Eastern Empire, the

[1] Marin (vol. i. pp. 223–4); Filiasi (vol. v. p. 293).
[2] Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. 15).

patriarch presumed to suggest that such an ambiguous connexion was in every point of view detrimental to the welfare of the Empire of the West,[1] Fortunato concluded by invoking the vengeance of Charlemagne on the heads of those wicked and impious men who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his innocent relative.

The French Emperor, who seems to have long harboured the design of aiming a blow at Venetian liberty, lent a not unwilling ear to the words which fell from Fortunato; and it may be suspected that, while he expressed sorrow at the death of the uncle, and an interest in the cause of the nephew, Charles formed in his mind the secret resolution at once of ridding himself of a troublesome neighbour, and securing an invaluable seaport, by annexing the Commune of Venice, at the first opportunity, to the dominions of the Iron Crown. The son of Pepin could hardly be insensible to the wonderful facilities which the acquisition of the Dogado would afford to the reunion of the two Empires in his own person: nor is it to be supposed that he was ignorant that in becoming the master of Venice, he would become the master of the Adriatic, and the possessor of the Key which unlocked the doors of the East. Charlemagne, however, did not duly estimate the difficulties of the achievement which he appears to have been contemplating about this period. In the eyes of a prince who was naturally inclined to disparage the importance of a small State

[1] Blondus of Forli (*De Orig. et Gestis Venet.* p. 4, edit. 1481).

such as the Republic, and who had assuredly never paused to investigate the true source and spring of Venetian greatness, the conquest of the islands in the Salt-Lagoon might well appear little more than the profitable occupation of a leisure hour. Charles was not improbably under the influence of an impression that, by placing the Ducal Bonnet on his own brows, and taking the Ivory Sceptre into his own hands, he would be able to raise his country to the highest rank among Naval, as she was already among Military Powers. He did not take sufficiently into calculation the effect which would be produced by the conversion of an independent commune into a dependent province.

But during the absence of Fortunato in France, an occurrence had supervened in his own country which, while it hastened his return, frustrated, in a large measure, the projects of his Royal Patron. Not long after the departure of the Patriarch from Venice, Giovanni and his son, having surpassed, in some particular instance, the measure of popular forbearance, had been driven from their throne by a powerful insurrection, and had been forced to take refuge, the former in France, the latter[1] at Mantua; and the Tribune Antenori having been proclaimed Doge at Treviso by his party, had been escorted in triumph to Malamocco, where he received the berretta amid the rejoicings of a people emancipated at last, as it might seem, from the galling yoke of tyranny (804).[2]

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 20).

[2] "Hic (Obelerio) tribunus Mathemaucensis in Tarvisio, a Venetis

It was exceedingly doubtful whether the elevation of the late Tribune of Malamocco could be justly ascribed to French influence: yet it was no less certain, that Charlemagne counted largely on the gratitude and tractability of the new Doge; and Antenori himself, who did not possess that force of character, which might have led him to desert his faction for the sake of serving his country, was personally well disposed to acknowledge the claim. But the bare supposition, that the Republic would obey, or that her first magistrate would be suffered to receive, the commands of a foreign Power, seems to be sufficient proof, that Obelerio grossly misjudged his position, and that Charles greatly overrated his influence, at Venice. It might be open to the emperor to flatter the pride, and to tamper with the patriotism, of a party, without producing any marked sensation on the general mind of the Republic. Indeed, it was well known that the French faction had received no slight encouragement from him, in the shape of promises and bribes, to persevere in the course, which they were then pursuing. But the attempted enforcement of a groundless right to dictate to the Venetians the line of policy, to which they should adhere, as regarded their external relations, only closed the wounds of civil discord, and awakened the heart of a nation.

Shortly after his accession, Obelerio got leave to

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exulibus Dux electus, fugatis Ducibus, Venetias intravit, et cum honore susceptus, a populo in Mathemauco intronizatus est."—*Dandolo* (vii. p. 153.)

associate his younger brother Beato,[1] and in 805, the two Doges, anxious to ingratiate themselves personally with the emperor, proceeded to Paris accompanied by Paul, Duke of Zara, and Donatus, bishop of the same place, and loaded with rich presents. They reached their destination shortly after Christmas.[2] The Antenori came on the part of the French faction, to enter into an understanding with Charlemagne, respecting their future political tactics and the administration of Venetian affairs. The duke and the bishop were sent by the Dalmatians on an ordinary diplomatic errand. It was probably, on this occasion, that Obelerio married the French lady, who is known to have materially influenced his subsequent career, and who is said to have been one of the ladies of the imperial court. Thus, the new reign may be said to have been unpropitious at its very outset. A storm was gathering.

During a while, however, the two brothers continued in the peaceful exercise of their authority, without exhibiting, on either side, an inclination to abuse the power which was jointly vested in them, or to engross it. But an unforeseen incident speedily brought to a close this brief interval of tranquillity. On the *Lidi* near Pigneda, at the mouth of the Piave,[3] some noble citizens of Malamocco had recently founded a Colony, which they endowed with a church, and planted

[1] Pietro Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 21 (King's MSS. 148).
[2] *Eginardi Opera*, i. 264 (a Contemporary).
[3] B. Giustiniani (lib. xiii. edit. 1545).

with orchards, oliveyards and vineyards; their position afforded them a free access to the neighbouring cities; and under the auspices of commerce and the industrial arts the Settlers gradually became a thriving community. Yet, although they had hitherto pursued their peaceful callings without hindrance, their progress was watched with a jealous and intolerant eye by the citizens of Heraclia, whose malevolence toward the Malamocchese had increased, in no slight degree, since the expulsion of the two Galbaii;[1] and in course of time the secluded retreat on the banks of the Piave was constantly exposed to predatory visits from the Heraclians, who were generally led by one of their most powerful townsmen, Giorgio Joannasio. The natural consequence was, that collisions, sometimes attended by fatal results, were of frequent occurrence between the Colonists and the aggressors; in one of them were slain the four brothers of Galla Catanio, a noble Equilese;[2] and Catanio, disconsolate at the loss, at once repaired to Malamocco, and preferred his complaint before the Doges Antenori. Whether his success was left to rest wholly on the issue of this conference with Obelerio and his brother, or whether the injured man was invited to plead his cause before the Arrengo, there are no means of ascertaining. Unquestionably, the Antenori had the power of redress in their own hands, and it was perfectly competent for them to

[1] Paolo Morosini (*Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dall' origine della Citta sin al anno* 1486, lib. iii. p. 50. Ven. 1634.)

[2] B. Giustiniani (lib. xiii. p. 147).

pronounce a judgment in such a case without referring to the national assembly. But, on the other hand, it might be considered more politic to preserve, under an actual despotism, the form of a free constitution, and the faint image of a pure Republic. "The Heraclians," exclaimed Galla, when he had unfolded the circumstances which brought him to Malamocco, and had demanded reparation for the wrong,—"the Heraclians are the most unjust of men; they never cease to conspire against the Commonwealth; they spurn and defy the laws, and violate the dearest and most sacred rights of individuals." The charge of Catanio was partly true: his complaint was perfectly just. The plea which he used was potent; the temptation which he offered was strong; and after a becoming hesitation the Doges consented with secret alacrity to avenge the wrongs of a bereaved brother on the members of an odious faction. A few light barks were accordingly armed and equipped, and placed under the orders of Beato, who proceeded to Heraclia, and exoculated and slew all those, who were known or thought to be implicated in the death of the four Catanii: while, as some slight indemnity for the terrible loss which he had sustained, Galla himself was at once appointed to the vacant tribuneship of Equilo.[1]

Yet, even the severe retribution which they had thus exacted, quenched not the thirst of the Malamocchese for revenge; and, on his return from his expedition,

[1] *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. iii. p. 78.

Beato was prompted to suggest, as a pledge of future security, the instant and complete destruction of Heraclia itself, the hotbed of faction, and, as it was now said, the spring of well nigh all the misfortunes which had befallen the Republic of late years. The Doge reminded the popular assembly that it would be easy to provide for the inhabitants by transferring them to the other islands. The extraordinary proposition of Beato gave rise to a long and grave discussion in the Arrengo: for there were many even in Malamocco and Equilo who were decidedly averse from such a violent remedy. But the influence of the party, to which the Antenori belonged, commanded a large majority; the views of the Doge were ultimately accomplished; and those who still beheld with a pang a flourishing town levelled with the dust, were constrained to seek consolation in the pleasing, though doubtful assurance, that the seeds of civil discord were buried for ever in the ruins of Heraclia.[1]

By the treaty, which had been concluded in 803 between Charlemagne and the court of Constantinople, it was expressly stipulated that the maritime towns of Istria and Dalmatia should thenceforth be considered as forming an integral portion of the Eastern Empire; and this stipulation was observed with strictness till 808, in which year the emperor Nicephorus, viewing

[1] Sagorninus (*Chronicon Venetum*, p. 20); B. Giustiniani (lib. xiii. p. 148); Dandolo (lib. vii. ch. xv.). In the *Reipublicæ Constitutio*, p. 29 (Harl. MSS. 4743), occurs the following description of Heraclia:—"Situm id (oppidum) est in intimis æstuariis in Jesulâ quâdem (Jesulo) juxta Plavis fluvii ostium."

with increasing anxiety the policy of Charlemagne toward the Illyric Provinces, despatched a squadron of observation to the Adriatic under the command of the patrician Nicetas,[1] who was instructed to offer the title of imperial consul to the elder Antenori; and (should he judge fit) to enlist the services of the Republic in the cause of his Master. The Venetians, who likewise eyed with distrust the movements of the French Emperor and those of his son Pepin, the young King of Italy, learned with secret exultation the approach of the imperial admiral, on whose friendship and support they thought they might rely in the event of an open rupture with Charles; and when Nicetas, after the sack of Piombino and a desultory cruise along the Tuscan coast, pointed his course toward the lagoon, he was joyfully welcomed to Malamocco by every Venetian, who had the true interest of his country at heart. The object of the admiral's visit was easily explained to those to whom it was not already familiar; he intimated to the Antenori, that it was shortly his intention to commence operations on a more extended scale against the Lombard Kingdom; and before he resumed the offensive, he was exceedingly desirous of securing the cohesion of the Republic. The proposition of Nicetas was one which, as the Doges said, demanded much and mature deliberation. Obelerio, although, indeed, he had accepted without demur the

[1] Blondus of Forli (*De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, p. 4. edit. Verona, 1481, folio).

honorific dignity of Protospatarius,[1] expressed a fear, that it was hardly compatible with the interests of his Commune to reply in the affirmative. Beato, on the other hand, who from policy or inclination leaned more to the Byzantine court, seemed disposed to entertain it favourably; and, the sense of the legislature being taken on the question, it was found that the views of the younger Antenori corresponded with those of the nation at large. It was, therefore, no longer optional on the part of Obelerio to afford the required assistance; a small fleet was placed under the orders of his third brother, Valentino,[2] who was enjoined to act in strict harmony with the imperial commander; and Commacchio, toward which the Venetians bore a strong, though covert dislike, as the mart of a thriving trade in fish and salt,[3] was approved or suggested by them as the first point of attack.

But, on his part, King Pepin had no sooner been apprised of the intentions of the Allies, than he hastened to render Commacchio, naturally difficult of access, capable of making a vigorous defence, and of sustaining a long siege. That town was by his direction fortified, garrisoned, and victualled; and such were the zeal and energy with which the inhabitants defended their ramparts, that, after several unsuccessful attempts to gain an entry into the place, the

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 22). [2] Filiasi (vol. v. p. 324).
[3] Marin (lib. iv. ch. v. vi. pp. 239-243); *Annales Bertiniani*, p. 502. Ap. Murat. *Rer. Ital. Script.*

Greeks[1] and Venetians, the latter of whom are said to have suffered considerably during the operations, were reluctantly obliged to forego their design, and to evacuate the Port. Nicetas returned with Valentino to Venice, and shortly afterward sailed with his squadron for the Golden Horn. He was accompanied by an embassy, consisting of Beato di Antenori himself, Cristoforo Damiato, bishop of Olivolo, and Felice, Tribune of the same place,[2] who were charged with the task of establishing relations between their country and the court of Constantinople: a step which the government of the Republic appears to have taken either at the suggestion of the admiral, or at his solicitation.

On his arrival in the Eastern capital, Beato di Antenori was at once created an imperial consul;[3] and it is said that, during his stay at Constantinople, he procured a treaty, by which the political and commercial relations of the Republic with the Empire of the East were placed on a broader footing than before. The reception of the doge-ambassador at the hands of Nicephorus, which was of the most flattering description, exercised a strange fascination on his mind. It inflated him with new conceits, quite trans-

[1] *Eginardi Opera*, vol. i. p. 278 (a Contemporary).

[2] B. Giustiniani (lib. xiv. p. 156).

[3] Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 157); Laurentii de Monachis (*Civis Veneti, et Magni Cretæ Cancellarii, qui floruit anno* 1428, *de rebus gestis Venetorum Historia*, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8574). An edition of this writer appeared at Venice, in 1758, 4to, under the care of Flaminio Cornaro. It does not seem to differ in any essential respect from the MS.

ported him beyond himself, and led him, in forming an exaggerated estimate of his own consequence, to imbibe a certain contempt for his brother and the French faction. It will soon appear how the visit of Beato to Constantinople, by the bickerings and heart-burnings which it bred among its members, was the proximate cause of the approaching downfal of the powerful House of Antenori.

On the return of his brother to Venice, Obelerio observed, with surprise and pain, a marked alteration in the bearing of Beato toward himself and his former adherents, whom he now began to treat with coldness and punctilio; and the elder Antenori noted with severe mortification, that the new Imperial Consul was not only alienating himself more and more from the party to which he might be said to owe everything, but was rapidly ingratiating himself with the people by his new Greek predilections. Obelerio had abundant reason to contemplate this change in his brother with alarm; and he felt that it was not more than due to himself to preserve the balance of power in the State, which must soon be imperilled by the rising influence of Beato, by admitting his youngest brother Valentino, who had commanded the Venetian troops at the siege of Commacchio, to a share in the government. The sanction of the popular assembly was procured for this extraordinary innovation,[1] and an arrangement was concluded in consequence, by

[1] Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 158).

which all public acts were to be executed, during the term of their tripartite sovereignty, in the name, and by the authority, of the three Antenori, and by which a difference of opinion on any question of importance was to be submitted, in the last resort, to the Arrengo.[1]

In the meantime, Charlemagne, fairly considering that the late attempt on Commacchio altogether absolved him from his engagements with Nicephorus, had ordered his son Pepin to invade Dalmatia, and (although they had borne so unequivocal a part in the late undertaking) to solicit the concurrence of the Venetians. The royal request threw Obelerio into a most embarrassing dilemma. He was personally willing to serve, and anxious to propitiate, his old Patron; he was of opinion that his country had been guilty at least of a gross blunder in assuming a hostile attitude toward the French; and his sentiments were, of course, shared and seconded by his consort, who was naturally influenced by her Parisian connexions.[2] But the Doge was at the same time quite aware, that neither Beato nor the people at large would ever consent to afford the aid required, and he judged rightly that defeat in such a matter could not fail to be extremely injurious to his reputation. Nor were the fears of Obelerio unfounded. For, notwithstanding his repeated assurances, that a refusal on the part of the Republic to

[1] Sandi. *Storia Civile di Venezia*, vol. i. p. 273.

[2] P. Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 21 (King's MSS. 148).

meet the wishes of Pepin, involved her certain ruin by drawing down on her head the terrible vengeance of a powerful conqueror, the mission of the Lombard deputies was wholly unsuccessful; and the king, incensed at the insult, though, perhaps, not displeased at the pretext, at once resolved to turn the forces, which, as it was alleged at least, he had originally levied for the Dalmatian campaign, against the Commune of Venice. It was consequently soon known at Malamocco, that their formidable enemy was sailing toward the lagoons with all the disposable strength of the Lombard cities, which had readily proffered their services against a State, whose growing power and prosperity were even now being watched by her neighbours with jealousy and apprehension. The very existence of the Commune thus appeared to be in jeopardy, and the national convention was at once invited to meet at Malamocco. The debate was unusually stormy and tumultuous.[1] The partizans of Obelerio and his brothers espoused their cause with zealous warmth. They made every exertion to exonerate those princes from the charge of high treason, which was preferred against them. They denied with emphasis and indignation that they had ceased to deserve the confidence of that assembly. The Antenorists recommended their countrymen not to hearken too readily to false and interested accusers. For what, in point of fact, had the Doges done? Why should it be

[1] Bern. Giustiniani (lib. xv. pp. 164–170); Marin (i. 7).

said, they had forfeited their right to the throne? Why should the Republic call upon them to abdicate the high position which they now held? Because the Lombard king had thought proper to hover during an unusually long period on the confines of the lagoon, was it, therefore, to be inferred that a secret understanding existed between the two parties—that a treasonable correspondence had been exchanged by the Doges with the son of Charlemagne? They besought the people to pause before they committed so gross and palpable an injustice as that which they believed to be in contemplation.

Other speakers, who might be indifferent, indeed, to the continuance of the present government in power, but who, from temper, or habit of thought, were averse from extreme measures, shewed themselves inclined to the adoption of a middle course; and while they joined in advocating the exile of the dark and inscrutable Obelerio, they extenuated the conduct of Beato and Valentino di Antenori, who, they submitted, were far less censurable, and who, in the absence of improper influences, would undoubtedly listen to wiser counsels.

But the opinions of the moderate party, as well as those of the Antenorists, were overruled by the two tribunes of Rialto, Angelo Participazio or Badoer[1] and Timotheus, who strongly dissuaded the Republic from accepting, in the present crisis, any compromise

[1] Pietro Dolfino, *Annali Veneti*, p. 13 (King's MSS. 149).

whatever, or from hearkening to any suggestions, which might have the fatal effect of delaying a provision for the gravest of emergencies; and a proposition was at once made by the latter, and almost unanimously adopted, "that the Antenori had deserved ill of the Republic; that, since by treasonable collusion with the enemy, they had sought to betray their country, they were no longer worthy to reign; and that it was expedient to proceed to the election of a new Doge." The first part of the motion of the Tribune Timotheus was immediately carried into practice. Obelerio and Beato were ostracized: the former was relegated to Constantinople, the latter, to Zara in Dalmatia; while their youngest brother, whose complicity was open, in the general opinion, to fair doubt, was suffered by an act of popular clemency to retire into the obscurity of a private station.[1] The legislative body, then, having finally spurned the advice of the French faction to implore, *while it was yet time*, the forgiveness of Pepin, intrusted the safety of the Republic to Angelo Badoer, the colleague of Timotheus. By the direction of Badoer, chains were thrown, without loss of time, across the canals; vessels were sunk at their mouths; and the rows of piles, which usually indicated to mariners the navigable passages, were carefully removed. No contrivances, in short, were omitted at that critical juncture which might help to impede the progress of the enemy; and so soon as it was under-

[1] Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 159). Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 13. Ver. 1481).

stood that the latter were already approaching Brondolo, the whole Venetian population, abandoning the outer holms, withdrew, at Badoer's suggestion, into the central island of Rialto.

Meanwhile, King Pepin, led by the wording of a message[1] which the late Doge Obelerio had addressed to him shortly before his deposition, to infer that a change of resolution on the part of the besieged was far from unlikely, had determined to test, for some time, the effect of a temporizing policy.[2] But the views of the Venetians remained unaltered, their fortitude unshaken: Pepin soon grew weary of procrastination; and perceiving, that it was useless to look for any pacific proposals, he decided on advancing with his fleet. The French gained and invested in succession Brondolo, Pelestrina, Torcello, Equilo, and Malamocco; and, the tide being still full (though on the ebb), the invaders ascended so far as Albiola,[3] near which the naval forces of the Republic were arrayed under the command of Victor, a citizen of Old Heraclia, and a man thoroughly conversant with the mazy intricacies of his native lagoons. At this point the progress of the Lombard king was arrested by a natural, yet unforeseen, difficulty; the water had become, at length, too shallow to admit the somewhat heavy draught of the vessels,

[1] *Eginardi Opera*, vol. i. 286. This writer alleges that Pepin was "perfidiâ ducum Veneticorum incitatus."

[2] It is upon this episode of Venetian history that Falconetti founded in 1830 his novel, entitled *La Naufraga di Malamocco, ossia i Galbaj e gli Antenori* (*Storia Veneziana del Secolo X.*) Venezia, 1830, 12mo.

[3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 24).

which conveyed him and his followers from Ravenna; and he discovered with vexation, that it would be impossible to reach the central island without throwing a bridge across the narrow Canal, which lay between Albiola and Rialto. This clumsy structure, which the Franks hastily composed of tubs, planks, and the intertwisted boughs of vines and olives, was soon ready for use; and the enemy, full of confidence and enthusiasm, rushed blindly forward, alike without discipline or caution, to their intended prey. The step was a foolish and a fatal one. The rude and incongruous materials of the bridge yielded, in a few moments, to the sudden and enormous pressure, which had been brought to bear upon it; and hundreds of human beings were precipitated into the soft ooze of the lagoon, where they were speedily drowned or suffocated. The invaders now perceived moreover with dismay, that the tide had been gradually ebbing, and that their vessels were stranded: and those, who escaped a watery grave, were, for the most part overtaken and massacred by the active and relentless islanders. Such was the glorious and rapid issue of the thrilling struggle for liberty, which was called the Battle of Albiola; and the *Canal Arco*, where King Pepin was so utterly defeated by the Tribune Badoer and Victor his lieutenant, was known thenceforward as the *Canaglia d'Orfano*.[1] The battle of Albiola, so vital in its nature, so decisive in its result, was long and severely felt by the Venetians; and it unquestionably brought misery

[1] Blondus, p. 41.

and affliction into many families. But it had baffled completely the aim and falsified the calculations of their hated foe; and they were still a nation. Peace was soon afterward re-established between the two Powers; and it is on record that, in his latest moments, the son of Charlemagne was magnanimous enough to express a regret at the course which he had pursued toward the Venetian Republic.[1]

The events of 809, and the acts of national as well as individual heroism, by which the Battle of Albiola had been distinguished, were thought, at a later epoch, to deserve a leading place on the walls of the *Sala dello Scrutinio*, where the greatest Names in the annals of Early Art were employed to give immortality to the noble achievements of the Venetian People; and on the side of the Hall which looked toward the Piazza, two compartments were assigned by the Signory to this most striking, though perhaps semi-legendary episode of history. In the first panel, which was executed by Jacopo Palma, and which represented the Blockade of the Islands by the Franks, it might be somewhat amusing to observe the prominence which was given by the painter to the popular tradition respecting the projection of loaves into the camp of King Pepin by the islanders in ridicule and defiance of the design which he was reputed to have conceived of reducing them to submission by famine—a tradition which must be accepted with as much reserve as the well-known story

[1] Muratori (*Dissertationes Medii Ævi*, vol. i. p. 61-2-3).

of the Old Woman[1] of Malamocco. In the second panel, the Battle of the Canaglia d'Orfano was depicted with all its stirring incidents by Francesco da Bassano, whose production having been completely destroyed by damp, was subsequently replaced by a painting on the same subject from the prolific brush of Andrea Vicentino.[2]

The magnitude of the evil, which had been averted by so timely a victory, appeared to manifest the high claims of Angelo Badoer to the consideration of his country; and the Tribune of Rialto[3] was soon invited, as a token of public gratitude, to assume the ducal *berretta*. Nor did the moderation of Angelo carry him so far as to decline the proud distinction;[4] and he formed, in his own person, the first of a line of Doges, who swayed the Ivory Sceptre during a period of seventy-four years. Associated with Badoer in the chief authority were two Tribunes, Vitali Michieli and

[1] "E tutti abbandonarono Malamocco, eccetto una vecchia, la quale rimase in Malamocco. E l'armata del Re Carlo si presento a Malamocco, volendo combattere il luogo, ma non trovo contrario alcuno. E l'oste entrato nella detta citta, trovo solo quella vecchia, e le dimanda, che era delle genti, e dove fossero andate. Ella rispose, "*Io sono una povera vecchia; se mi volete dare qualche premio vi daro avviso di tutto.* Le risposero, ch'erano contenti di darle cio, ch'era onesto. Essa dise loro: *Il Doge e andato a un luogo, che si chiama Rialto, colle barche, perchè è picciola acqua. Ma andate a Poveja, dove sono i miei paventi, che vi daranno buon' avviso, perch' eglino sanno il tutto, e' vi daranno consiglio perche sannò tutti que' luoghi, come vi si passa andare.*"—Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 450).

[2] Sansovino (*Ven. Descr.* viii. 347).

[3] Dandolo calls Badoer, *Virum strenuosum et catholicum* (viii. 161).

[4] At the same time his brother Orso, who had taken holy orders, was ordained bishop of Olivolo; and his second son, Giusto Badoer, bishop of Torcello.—*Dandolo* (lib. viii. p. 168).

Pantaleone Giustiniani,[1] who proffered their advice to the Doge on all matters appertaining to his office, and assisted him in the administration of civil and criminal justice. It is worthy of note that in the old political system of the Venetians, no attempt was made to disconnect the judicial functions from those of the executive. In early times the Doge was his own Judge of Common Pleas, his own Baron of the Exchequer, and his own Chancellor, the *Cancellarius Ducalis*, though already in existence, being merely an officer of subordinate dignity and authority.[2]

What afterward became of Victor, Badoer's lieutenant at Albiola, is not known: nor does the name of Victor occur in the chronicles of that day, either anterior or subsequently to the grand occasion on which his courage and capacity were tried by so severe a test.

By his energy and example, the successor of the Antenori encouraged the citizens, many of whom were destitute alike of shelter and sustenance, to restore their dwellings and resume their avocations, which they had hurriedly left on the approach of Pepin; at the private cost of the Badoeri and other noble families, a New City (*Citta Nuova*) was reared on the ruins of Heraclia; Olivolo was at the same time endowed with a church in honour of Saint Peter; and another church, dedicated to San Lorenzo and Severo, was founded by some

[1] Romanin (i. 158).

[2] Thus the Doge united in himself the functions which, under the early English constitution, were divided between the Crown and the Grand Justiciary.

Venetian citizens on the islet of Zimole (Gemelle).[1] Farthermore, a new Palace was erected by the Doge at Rialto, which was henceforward regarded as the Metropolis of Venice; and the sixty circumjacent islands were now, for the first time, connected with the capital by wooden bridges. It is in the reign of Angelo Badoer that we must place the first and rudest age of Venetian architecture.

All these public improvements were carried out in pursuance, and by virtue of a special authorization, which Badoer had received at the hands of the Popular Convention, "to enlarge, amplify, and embellish, the island of Rialto, to fortify and strengthen its various positions, and to furnish the *Lidi* with adequate shelter and protection against the inroads of the sea at high tides;" and their execution necessitated the creation, at some period more or less immediately subsequent to the Battle of Albiola, of an Office of Works. The business of this office was conducted by a Board of three members, to each of whom was given a separate and distinct jurisdiction. Speaking of the institution as it existed in 809–14, the *Cronaca Cornaro* states that the task of increasing the accommodation and improving the architecture of the City was confided to Pietro Tradenigo, a noble Rialtine. Another branch of the triple function of the office of works devolved, according to the same authority, on Lorenzo Alimpato; and to Nicolo

[1] Blondus of Forli (*De Gestis Ven.*, sig. H, edit. 1481). Sanudo (*Vite de Duchi*, p. 452).

Ardisa was assigned the important duty of fortifying the lagoons.[1]

During the long and tranquil reign of Badoer (809–27) the Venetians, unharassed by faction or external troubles, steadily continued to develop and extend their maritime and river commerce, which, while it tended so largely to promote their prosperity as a nation, taught them to endure the hardships of war without depreciating the blessings of peace.

The Doge Angelo had three sons: Giustiniani, the eldest, so christened after his paternal grandmother, a Giustiniani; Giusto, who succeeded, shortly after his father's accession, to the see of Torcello;[2] and Giovanni the youngest. In 813, four years after the battle of Albiola, a second Treaty of Partition having been concluded between Charlemagne and Michael I., the successor of the Emperor Nicephorus, Giustiniani Badoer was sent by the Doge to Constantinople for the purpose of ascertaining, on the part of the Republic, the nature and terms of the new compact;[3] and the noble Envoy was led to found on the mischievous precedent made during the reign of the first Galbaio, a pleasing, and certainly not irrational, hope, that a share in the sovereignty might be the reward of his

[1] Temanza (*Antica Pianta di Venezia*, p. 6), who quotes the *Cronaca Cornaro di Candia*, MS.

[2] Dandolo (lib. viii. ch. i.) *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. ii. pp. 27, 28. *Ibid. juxta Codicem Drèsdensem*, p. 65.

[3] Dandolo (lib. viii. ch. i.) It confirmed the Republic in the possession of the territory between the two Piaves, which she had acquired in the time of the Doge Anafesto. It also recognized her liberty and independence.

zeal and success. It appears, however, that during his absence, which must necessarily have extended over several months, the Doge was injudicious enough to associate Giovanni; and when, on his return from the mission with which he had been charged, the elder brother learned what had happened, he was piqued at his father's unjust preference to such a degree, that he absolutely refused to see the old man, retiring, with his wife Felicia and his little son Angelo, into the church of San Lorenzo, which belonged, by a species of seigniorial right, to his uncle Orso, bishop of Olivolo, the founder of the building. The strange conduct and behaviour of Giustiniani had at least the effect of impressing the Doge with a sense of the superior claim of his eldest son; and his Serenity formed in his mind the arbitrary resolution of annulling his hasty and, as it now seemed, premature choice. The consequence was that an honour which had been unwisely bestowed was now unfairly withdrawn; Giovanni was compelled to submit to the will of a parent and the weakness of a brother; and the coveted distinction was transferred to Giustiniani,[1] who not long afterward procured leave to associate his own son Angelo. Giovanni, who seems to have been treated by the Doge with unwarrantable harshness, was banished to Zara,[2] but after a short sojourn in that city, he broke his parol and went to

[1] In all public instruments the form now became: "*Nos Angelus et Justinianus per Divinam Gratiam Veneticorum Provinciæ Duces.*"—See Sansovino (V. D. xi. 483).

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 28).

Bergamah, where he had an interview with Leo the Armenian, at a subsequent period Emperor of the East. His father demanded his extradition at the hands of Louis the Pious, in whose dominions he was; and his wife and himself were finally relegated to Constantinople.

With the exception of an obscure and abortive conspiracy, two of the members of which, Giovanni Talonico and Buono Bragadino, were executed at San Giorgio Maggiore, while the other, Giovanni Monetario, escaped to France,[1] the reign of Angelo Badoer, extending over a period of eighteen years, was uniformly tranquil. His death occurred in 827, and it had been shortly preceded by that of his grandson and namesake: consequently Badoer II. now became sole Doge. But Giustiniani, who was of a sickly and feeble constitution, soon found himself unequal to the weight of undivided authority: and his brother Giovanni was accordingly recalled and associated in the course of the same year.

During the joint reign of the two Badoeri, the aid of the Republic was again sought by the court of Constantinople, which began, about this period, to be harassed by the maritime incursions of the Saracens; and in 827–8, a small Venetian fleet was despatched to the Mediterranean, to act in concert with the imperial

[1] "In questo mezzo, due Autori di gran mali, uno Giovanni Tornarico ovvero Talonico, nominato *di Zopia*, e Bruno Bardanisso, ovvero Bragadino, furono appresso San Giorgio fatti appiccare. Il terzo, ch' era Giovanni Monetario, fuggi e si salvo."—Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 452).

squadron on that station. No engagement is recorded, however, as having taken place between the Allies and the pirates, who were probably anxious to elude open hostilities; and the enterprise resolved itself into a desultory cruise along the coast of Sicily.[1] But an incident took place in the following year, which has sufficed to preserve the name of Badoer the Second from the oblivion, to which his otherwise uneventful administration might have consigned it. In 829, the body of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which had long lain in the temple founded by himself at Alexandria (if tradition is to be credited), was transferred to Venice by two merchants of the latter city, who, in contravention of an edict, issued by the late Doge, inhibiting the supply of arms and provisions to the heterodox enemies of the Lower Empire, were carrying on a clandestine trade with the Egyptian Ports.[2]

The translation of the Evangelist, which forms so remarkable and interesting a feature in Early Venetian History, is said to have originated[3] in the following circumstance:—The caliph of Egypt, who was inveterately hostile to the Christian religion, was building,

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 30); Dandolo (lib. viii. ch. ii.); Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 4, ver. 148, fol.)

[2] Filiasi (vol. v. p. 25).

[3] Bernardo Giustiniani (*De Translatione Beati Marci Evangelistæ*, lib. ii.); Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 4); G. R. Michieli (*Feste Veneziane*, vol. i. pp. 96–100); *Chronicha della magnifica Citta di Venezia*, fol. 10 (King's MSS. No. 150); Leo A. More (*Description of Africa*, lib. vi. p. 302, fol., Lond. 1600). The last-named writer charges Buono and his companion with "privily stealing" the body.

at this period, a splendid palatial residence in one of his chief cities; and it was reported that, in order to beautify the new edifice, it was in contemplation to denude all the Christian temples in the country of their decorations and plate. Shocked at the profane avarice of the misbeliever, and justly apprehensive lest the Church of Saint Mark at Alexandria, where the Evangelist was existing in a state of spiritual repose, should share the common lot, two Venetian merchants, named Buono and Rustico, the former of Malamocco, the latter of Torcello, who chanced to be trading at the time in that Port with ten galleys, resolved, in a fit of pious ardour, to attempt the rescue of the Saint from the peril by which he was threatened. Having, with this object in view, sought a conference with Theodore, the officiating priest of the Temple, the two merchants opened to him a project which they had formed for abstracting the holy relics under cover of the darkness, and conveying them secretly to Venice, where they felt assured that they might rest for ever in peace. The Greek, who was completely astounded by the proposition, demurred, representing the extreme hazard and danger by which such a plan would be attended; but he ultimately yielded to the importunacy of Buono and his countryman, and consented to accompany them.[1] The body of Saint Mark was speedily inwrapped in the linen shrouds of Saint

[1] "Messere, se voi volete venire con noi in Vinezia, e portiamo con esso noi il corpo di Monsignore San Marco, noi vi faremo molto ricco uomo."—M. Da Canale (*Cronaca Veneta, Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. 287).

Claudia, for the sake, as it was designed, of greater security; it was then placed in a deep basket, where it was cunningly ensconced beneath a thick layer of herbs and savoury joints of pork; and the Venetian seamen, who bore the load to the quay, took care to ejaculate, at intervals, the words so repulsive to all true Mussulmen, of *Khanzir! Khanzir!* (*pork, pork*) as they walked at a slow pace, and with a dilatory air, from the Church to the spot, where the merchants' vessels were anchored. On their safe arrival aboard, Buono and Rustico caused the mysterious basket to be hoisted at once to the masthead, lest by some singular mischance the pious larceny should, at the last moment, be discovered; and the chroniclers conclude by informing us how, on the homeward voyage, a tempest having arisen, Saint Mark appeared in a vision to Domenigo, a priest of Commacchio, and one of the passengers, and admonished him to furl the sails; and how, while its companions were scattered by the fury of the waves, the ship, which bore the remains of the Evangelist, reached in safety on the succeeding morning the Port of Olivolo, where the offenders were gladly forgiven, and where their precious charge was received with transports of gratitude and delight.

An event, similar to the foregoing, would now be welcomed, for the most part, with lukewarm enthusiasm, and even in those quarters where it might excite surprise or curiosity, it is probable that the sensation would be ephemeral and transient. But the arrival of St. Mark at Venice was an occurrence which

exerted, in truth, no inconsiderable influence over the mind, and even over the fortune, of that State. It gave a stimulus to the national commerce, and a spur to the national courage. Pilgrims soon began to flock to Rialto from every quarter of the civilized globe, to make their vows and oblations at his shrine, and crowned heads disdained not to mingle in the crowd of worshippers; a commercial fair was instituted in his honour; the Republic, which had been hitherto under the tutelary protection of Saint Theodore, was now consigned by universal consent to the guardianship of the Evangelist, whose image and name were soon stamped on her coins,[1] and inwoven in her banners; and it is well known that in aftertimes, the Venetian battle-cry was VIVA SAN MARCO.

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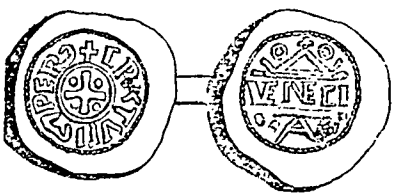
[1] The earliest Venetian coin, which Zanetti can trace, bore, on the obverse, the words *Christus imperat*, on the reverse, *Venecia*. After



829, the legend became *Christus imperat: San Marcus Venecia* (*Origine e Antichita della moneta Viniziana*, Plate I.) Zanetti says that the discovery of the silver coin, which he has facsimiled in Plate I., and which he conjectures to be the *Denarius Venetius*, is due to Muratori, the celebrated antiquary, who discovered it in the collection of Domenigo Pasqualigo, a Venetian nobleman. He describes it as of base alloy, and five carats in weight. See also Calogiera, *Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, xviii. 495.

A few months subsequent to the translation of Saint Mark, died Badoêr the Second, whose naturally weak constitution appears to have been slowly undermined by some chronic and incurable malady:[1] at his decease, the undivided cares of government devolved on Giovanni, his younger brother (829). By his will, the late Doge, who left his property to his wife and his daughter-in-law,[2] set apart a sum of sixty *lire*, as a fund for the erection of a chapel in one corner of the Ducal Palace, which might serve as a mausoleum for the sacred bones of the Patron-Saint.[3]

The period, during which Badoer the Third grasped the reins of government (829–36), was singularly turbulent and disastrous. Very shortly after the demise of the Doge Giustiniani, the exile Obelerio, madly jealous of the Badoeri, and confident in the goodwill and support of the old French Faction, the members of which, he felt assured, merely waited the signal to range themselves round his standard, ventured to return from Constantinople, and to settle at Veglia, a fortified town,[4] on the skirts of Malamocco; and here he designed to work, with as much speed and secrecy as possible, the overthrow of the reigning House. But the Doge, who had received private information of these seditious movements, was too keenly sensible of the potent and pernicious influence which the Antenorists might exert over popular credulity or discontent,

[1] Sanudo (p. 453) gives as his *Breve: Corporis alta datur mihi Sancti gratia Marci.*

[2] Romanin (i. 169). [3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 31). [4] Ibid. (*Chron.* 32).

to suffer the conspirator and his adherents to mature their plans; and so soon as he had armed and equipped a few vessels, he set out for Veglia. Immediately on his arrival, however, Badoer, having been apprised of the outbreak of a riot in favour of Obelerio at his native city, detached a sufficient force to keep the Veglians in check, or to prevent the escape of the outlaw, and pointed his course with the rest of the squadron toward Malamocco, which underwent now the same terrible fate as had befallen Heraclia twenty years before. In the meantime Veglia had surrendered, and was in the hands of the Venetian Detachment; the old leader of the French Faction was among the prisoners; and the Doge, acting on a persuasion, that the death of Obelerio was a necessary guarantee for his own and the public security, caused his unfortunate rival to be strung to a gibbet, erected at Campalto, on the banks of the Silis,[1] near the spot where Fortunato had resided before his exile. His head was afterward severed from his body, and brought to Malamocco, where it was hung up as a warning to all traitors at the Strada of San Martino.[2]

Thus miserably perished a man, who, as Tribune of Malamocco, had once enjoyed a large share of public

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[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 173); Da Canale (*Cronaca Veneta*, s. ix.) Da Canale lived in the latter half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. His chronicle does not extend beyond the year 1280.

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 32).

confidence and esteem; thus fell the friend of Charlemagne and the confederate of the Primate Fortunato! With Obelerio expired the hopes of the Party, to which he had belonged, and of which he might be justly considered the chief.

The execution of Antenori placed a new weapon in the hands of those, who began, at this time, from various motives, to eye the rising and already overbalancing influence of the House of Badoer with jealousy and alarm. The discontented faction, the leading members of which were Carosio the son of Bonico Nastalione, a person of tribunitial rank, Marino Secundo, Domenigo Monetario, Diodato Gruto, and Tritullo, a citizen of Grado,[1] readily contrived, by appealing to the interests of some and to the passions of others, to organize a powerful and numerous conspiracy against the life of the Doge; and such were the secrecy and circumspection of those who were implicated in the plot, that Badoer, taken completely unaware, narrowly escaped from the hands of his enemies by a precipitate flight from Venice. The illustrious fugitive sought a temporary shelter at the Court of France, where he was hospitably entertained by Louis the Pious, the son and successor of Charlemagne.[2] Nastalione, upon whom the insurgents looked as their leader, immediately installed himself

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 174). For Gruto we should, perhaps, read Gritti. Monetario might have been a kinsman of the Giovanni Monetario, who was implicated in the conspiracy against Badoer I., and who had contrived to make his escape to France.

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 33).

in the Ducal Palace, and caused himself to be proclaimed Doge.

But the Venetians, who had received the first report of a change in the Government with a smile of incredulity, no sooner became acquainted with the reality, than they rose in arms against the Usurper, whose authority they joined in setting at open defiance: nor was it long before a band of thirty patriots, under the leadership of Domenigo Mocenigo, burst the gates of the Palace, the stern and probably self-elected ministers of popular vengeance; and having seized the luckless Carosio, deprived him of sight and life, after a reign of scarcely six months.[1] At the same time, while steps were taken to recall the legitimate Doge, a Provisional Government was framed, until his reinstatement, by Baseio Storlado, Giovanni Marcurio, and Orso Badoer, Bishop of Olivolo,[2] in whose hands, it appears that the National Assembly consented to vest, as a temporary measure, the full prerogatives of the Ducal Office.

Posterior, however, to his return from France, the public career of Badoer III. was both brief and inglorious. While he was still a guest at the Court of the Emperor Louis, Giovanni Baseio, the member of a noble and influential family, tempted by the long absence of his Serenity, and by the instability of Carosio's power, had conceived the idea of placing

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. ii. p. 51); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.; Sanudo (*Vitè*, p. 415).

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 32).

the berretta on his own brows; his ambitious views were, of course, completely thwarted by the unexpected restoration of the Doge; and Baseio had therefore the strongest motives for regarding Badoer thenceforward with bitter and implacable hatred. The kindred and adherents of the disappointed nobleman fully echoed his sentiments, as they had shared his hope; and an opportunity was soon found for indulging their common resentment. On the evening of the 29th June, 836, as his Serenity was on the point of quitting the church of San Pietro at Olivolo, where he had been attending vespers, he was roughly seized by some hired emissaries of the rival faction: Badoer was, according to his usual practice, unattended; the Bravoes were numerous and inexorable; and having compelled him to undergo the process of tonsure, they hurried him to a neighbouring convent, where he was lodged in security.[1] Having thus by audaciously kidnapping the Doge and immuring him in the cloister, removed the sole obstacle which lay between him and the throne, Baseio might have reasonably expected to reap the reward of his patience and exertion. But he was again doomed to disappointment. For the popular assembly unanimously elected, as the successor of Badoer, Pietro Tradenigo of Rialto, Primicerio of St. Mark[1] (July, 836).

The progenitors of the new Doge Tradenigo came from Pola, and settled, in the first days of the Republic, at Vesulo or Jesulo (Equilo). But

[1] *Storia della Chiesa di San Marco*, p. 81.

on the destruction of that place by the Antenori, in the beginning of the ninth century, this antient family was removed by the Government with many others to Rialto, where it permanently fixed its residence. Tradenigo himself has been already introduced to notice as a member of the Board, which was intrusted by Badoer the First, after the Battle of Albiola, with the superintendence of Public Works. It appears from the History of the Ducal Church that he was appointed Primicerio of St. Mark in 830.

Whether the Arrengo took cognizance of the atrocious outrage which had rendered a change in the government so unexpectedly necessary, there are absolutely no means of judging. Tradenigo was at once invited or allowed to associate his only son Giovanni.

Pietro Tradenigo[1] was brave, energetic, virtuous; in his domestic relations he was just and pious; and in the exercise of the power which was vested in him, he shewed himself moderate and equitable. The reign of Tradenigo was still more turbulent and still more disastrous than that of his predecessor; and it is observable that it was marked by the first battle

[1] The Tradenigi became extinct, according to Sanudo (p. 428), in 946. It is a common mistake to suppose that the Gradenigi and the Tradenigi were one and the same family. See *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 4 (Harl. MSS. 4820); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 174); P. Dolfino (*Annali Veneti*, p. 16, King's MSS. 149); *Cronaca Altinate juxta Codicem Dresdensem*, pp. 25, 60; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* v.), and *Cronaca Altinate juxta alteram Lectionem* (ibid. viii. 85).

which the Republic fought, as well as by the first defeat which she suffered on her own element. The four years which followed the violent deposition of Giovanni Badoer were, however, for the most part, obscurely tranquil. An incursion of the Pirates of Narenta, in 839, led to a slight engagement and a hollow truce;[1] and a Venetian expedition, undertaken at the solicitation of the Veronese, was successful, about the same time, in checking the depredations of the brigands, who infested the neighbourhood of the Lago di Garda.[2]

But a wider field of operations was about to open. In 840, the imperial flag of Constantinople was descried once more off Brondolo, and the Doge received a visit from the admiral in command of a fleet, which the eastern emperor had sent to the Adriatic, to oppose the progress and inroads of the Saracens. Preparatory to opening the campaign, it was the wish of Theodosius to obtain the assistance of the Venetians;[3] and the latter, far from unwilling to ingratiate themselves with the Byzantine Court at the expense of a nation of pirates, consented to arm, in his service, a fleet of sixty dromoni, or vessels of heavy build and draught, carrying a force falling little short of 12,000 men,[4] which the Doge confided to Pietro Badoer.[5] The collision between the Allies and Saba, king or chief of

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 175); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 454); Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 946).
[2] Marin (ii. p. 43).
[3] Blondus (*De Gestis Ven.* p. 4).
[4] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 36).
[5] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, p. 200).

the Saracens, took place at Crotona, on the Gulf of Tarentum; the engagement was obstinate; and during some time neither side was seen to flag in energy or resolution. But the Venetian commander, deriving no support from Theodosius, whose followers (if the historians of the Republic may be credited) had fled in panic disorder at the first encounter, and unable to oppose singly the repeated onset of the misbelievers, was ultimately forced to succumb after the experience of a severe loss in men as well as in ships; and the Saracens engaged in the pursuit with such relentless diligence, that a very slender remnant of that superb marine which had left the port of Olivolo a few months before, so full of confidence and enthusiasm, survived to announce to the country the unhappy result of the Battle of Crotona.[1]

It was peculiarly natural that a people whose feebleness and obscurity had long shielded them from the heavy hand of misfortune, should feel the present reverse as a terrible blow struck at the national prosperity, as a deep stain cast on the yet unsullied standard of Saint Mark. In that trying moment, moreover, the weight of private sorrow served to enhance the pressure of the public calamity. Some deplored the untimely fate of a parent, or of a husband, while too many had cause to shed a tear over the watery grave of their friends or kinsmen who had fallen on that memorable day. While the islanders

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 175); Blondus of Forli (*De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*: Verona, 1481, fol.)

were occupying themselves with such sad reflexions, reports reached Rialto that the corsairs of Narenta, in violation of their recent and solemn promise to abstain from hostilities, were approaching the capital in considerable force, and that they had already reached and ravaged the Isle of Caorlo.[1] The imminence of the new danger at once banished all other thoughts; and Pietro Badoer having been placed in command of two ships of heavy draught, which had only been recently launched from the arsenal, advanced, without loss of time, to meet and repulse the invaders. But the latter, who had merely followed the track of the fugitives in quest of plunder, evinced no disposition to assume an hostile attitude, satisfied, as it seemed, with their present success; and, after a slight and indecisive action, they withdrew, of their own accord, from the lagoon.

The two ships which were employed in the second enterprise of Badoer, were large sailing vessels without oars; they were termed *galanders* or *palanders*, and it was the first occasion on which they had been brought into requisition by the Government of the Republic. The *palanders* were not originally designed as ships of war; but as it was found that they were equally adapted by their construction to the Mercantile and War Marine, they were, at a subsequent period, employed in both services by the Venetians. In the present instance, however, there would seem to have been little choice. By the battle of Crotona

[1] Diedo (lib. ii. p. 31).

the Venetian Navy had been thoroughly crippled; the resources of the arsenal were exhausted; and it is a fact which more than any other speaks for the heavy loss sustained by the Islanders in that deplorable action, that the only vessels on whose efficiency reliance could now be placed, were these two newly built and newly invented *palanders*, which more properly belonged to a different branch of the service.[1]

It was to be expected that an event of so grave and unparalleled a nature as the late rout at Crotona, would raise a storm of rage and discontent on the part of the public against those who might be considered open to a charge of indiscretion or incompetency: nor was it difficult to foresee that this catastrophe would afford an occasion for the revival of civil dissension. In fact, it was not long before six noble families, of whom the Polani, Baseii, and Giustiniani ranged themselves on one side, the Barbolani, Iscoli, and Selvi on the other, took advantage of the circumstance, and employed the general confusion which prevailed in Venice as a pretext for assembling in the broad daylight, on the square of Saint Mark, with the avowed object of deciding their private differences by force of arms.

These disgraceful feuds, whatever their precise origin may have been, extended at broken intervals over a long period; and it appears that the Doge had ulti-

[1] Formaleoni (*Saggio sulla nautica antica dei Veneziani*, p. 20). Filiasi (*Ricerche Storiche*, p. 215).

mately the culpable weakness to connive at the expulsion of the Barbolani and their confederates. But the triumph of the Polani faction was of short duration. For their rivals, having sought an asylum at the Court of the Emperor Lothar, the son and successor of Louis the Pious, that prince tendered his powerful intercession between them and their Commune; and the mediation of Lothar could not, it was thought, be declined with prudence. The exiles were permitted to return to Venice; and as it was imperatively necessary to obviate a revival of the old feud, a distinct and separate settlement was assigned to them in the island of Spina-Lunga or Guidecca, which had, down to that time, been almost wholly uninhabited. It seems to have been shortly after their recal, that an incident occurred which, though of an unimportant character, had the effect of hurrying the career of the Doge Tradenigo to an abrupt and melancholy close.

On the decease of Maurizio Vicenzi, Bishop of Olivolo, in 862, two members of the Venetian priesthood offered themselves as candidates for the vacant See. The Sanudi (or the Candiani, as they were sometimes called) nominated their relative, Zaccaria Sanudo. But his Serenity thought proper to induct his own kinsman, Domenigo Badoer.[1] The Sanudi vowed that they would not overlook the insult which had been offered to their House; and, although a considerable period elapsed before a suitable occasion presented

[1] Filiasi (vi. p. 44); Sanudo (*Vite*, pp. 415, 435). Compare also Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 543) with Marin (ii. p. 46).

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itself, they ultimately carried their design into execution. On the 13th September, 864, as the object of their resentment was crossing the *Ponte della Paglia*,[1] to attend vespers at the church of San Zaccaria, he was suddenly assailed by Pietro Sanudo at the head of a large body of friends and retainers; the Excusati and other attendants of Tradenigo were overpowered, after an obstinate and manful resistance, and the old Doge himself was stabbed to death at the foot of the Bridge. His guards and servants, so soon as they perceived that all hope had gone, hastily retraced their steps under cover of the darkness, and took refuge in the Ducal Palace, where they prepared to defend themselves against all comers,[2] until "their prayer to the Legislature for the condign punishment of the assassins had obtained a favourable hearing."[3] This proceeding, for which no precedent was known, may refer possibly to an antient constitutional usage, of which no other trace has survived, or it may have arisen simply from the fear of the Excusati lest they should fall victims to the popular indignation at their real or presumed negligence in protecting the person of their

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 181); Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 543); Mutinelli (A. U. p. 21); Pietro Marcello (*Vite de Principi*, p. 13): Pietro Marcello was the son of Antonio Marcello. He was born about 1475, and died in 1555. The first edition of his work (a compilation from Sabellico, and therefore of indifferent value) was published in 1502. It was originally written in Latin. The version which I have used is a *volgarizamento* by Lodovico Domenichi, which was published at Venice in 4to, two years after Marcello's death.

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 455); Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 948).

[3] Dand. *ubi suprâ*.

sovereign. The latter view has a greater air of probability.

The report of this outrage diffused through the City an irrepressible feeling of abhorrence. The fate of the Doge Badoer, his Serenity's predecessor in office, had not yet been forgotten. It was noted that the present was the second instance within a few years, in which the chief magistrate had become a prey to the heartless violence of party spirit; and it was hardly to be expected that the sad end of the virtuous and amiable Tradenigo would be treated with indifference by a nation which he had served so faithfully and so long. The popular assembly met therefore at Rialto in the latter part of September amid a general outcry for justice; and the Judges of the Palace, who were the Bishop of Equilo, the Archdeacon of Grado, and Domenigo Masono,[1] were directed, in compliance with the universal demand, to investigate the circumstances of the late catastrophe, and to report the result of their inquiry to the Legislature; at the same time no steps were taken at present toward the election of a new Doge; and, until such election should take place, the Arrengo, having in view the unsettled state of the Republic, assented to the devolution of the supreme power upon the Tribunes Giovanni Sanudo and Giovanni Badoer.

During an entire month[2] the dependants and body-

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 181); *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 4 (MSS. Harl. 4820); Giacomo Caroldo (*Historie Venete*, p. 24, King's MSS. 147). See also Harl. MSS. 3549.

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. ii. pp. 49, 50).

guard of Tradenigo held possession of the Palace, and seem to have set at defiance the power of the Provisional Government. On the thirtieth day, they consented to relinquish their post only on the understanding that a free settlement was to be assigned to them in the island of Poveja, and that they should enjoy in perpetuity the faculty of choosing their own judges and gastaldi; while, on the part of the Throne,[1] the Tribunes stipulated merely that a deputation of the gastaldo and of seven of the oldest inhabitants of Poveja should, as a token of fealty, bring to Rialto on the first Friday in each succeeding November an offering of fish to the reigning Doge; who was pledged to provide, in honour of the delegates on every anniversary, a public repast.[2] Sanudo and his colleague resigned their functions at the close of October, 864, when Orso, the son of the former Doge Giovanni, and the grandson of Badoer I., was declared the successor of Tradenigo.

At the period of his assassination, the late Doge had already governed Venice eight-and-twenty years, a length of reign unexampled in the Annals of the Republic. His son Giovanni, whom, at his accession, he had declared, with the approbation of the Legislature, his partner in the sovereignty, and who seems to have

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[1] *Ducale thronum* was understood by the early Venetians in the same sense as among the English—*the Crown*. See *inter alia* Dandolo (viii. 262).

[2] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 949); Vianoli (*Historia Veneta*, lib. iii. p. 95: Ven. 1680).

been of a delicate constitution, had died in 863; and it was certainly fortunate that he lived not to witness his country once more a prey to intestine discord, and a parent butchered before his eyes by a pitiless and too powerful Faction.

During the long and troubled period which had elapsed from the deposition of Badoer III. to the accession of his son Orso (Badoer IV.), two hitherto unnoticed incidents occurred which deserve a passing mention. In 856, the Emperor Louis II., when he affixed his seal at Mantua to the antient charter, under which the Venetian merchants traded in the ports of Lombardy, expressed a wish, and accepted an invitation, to see Rialto. The Doge and a select deputation went to meet his majesty as far as San Michele di Brondolo; he remained the guest of Tradenigo three days, during which period he held at the font the infant daughter of his Serenity.[1] Two years before the visit of Louis, Pope Benedict III., driven from the chair of Saint Peter by his rival Anastasius, had sought an asylum in the lagoon (854);[2] and during his stay at Venice, Giovanna Morosini, Sister-Superior of the Abbey of San Zaccaria, succeeded in eliciting from his Holiness a promise of the bodies of San Pancrazio, Santa Sabina, and other prized relics. Shortly after their transmission to their new destination, Tradenigo, allured by the odorous sanctity

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 38).

[2] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 180); Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, v. p. 46); Marin (vol. ii. pp. 44, 45).

which the posthumous abode of so many Saints shed around the favoured abbey, paid a devotional visit to San Zaccaria; and the Abbess, anxious to afford a convincing proof of the opulence and loyalty of the sisterhood, presented to her illustrious guest, on the latter taking leave, a magnificent diadem, richly studded with gems of the choicest water.[1] In the centre was set a large diamond, encircled by four-and-twenty pear-shaped pearls: above the diamond blazed a ruby, the brilliancy of which was such, that it dazzled the eye of the beholder; and in the front of the diadem was woven a gold cross, inlaid with twenty-three emeralds as well as other stones of rare price. Tradenigo accepted the splendid gift with profuse acknowledgments and a mixed sensation of pleasure and surprise; and, as a lasting token of his gratitude and approbation, he pledged his word that the Doges of Venice should repeat the visit and the ceremony in each succeeding year.[2]

The mere fact that, at so early a period a Roman pontiff and a Roman emperor honoured with their presence the Palace of Saint Mark, cannot be wholly without its significance, though it may be allowed to be of comparatively slight import. But the account of the jewelled diadem, which the Doge Tradenigo received at the hands of the Abbess Morosini, is an historical record of considerable value, inasmuch as it affords

[1] Maffei (*Verona illustrata*, ii. p. 219). G. R. Michieli (i. p. 123 *et seq.*)

[2] Sansovino (lib. xii. pp. 494, 495).

a clear indication of the zeal and success with which the Venetians were pursuing their favourite scheme of oriental commerce, and of the rapid growth of the subtle and penetrative spirit of enterprise, which ultimately led that remarkable People to explore the farthermost shores of the Ocean.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 864–912.

The Venetian Church—Will of Fortunatus, the rich Patriarch of Grado (825)—Orso Badoer (Badoer IV.), Doge (864)—Defeat of the Saracens—Schism between Badoer and the Holy See—Giovanni Badoer (Badoer V.), Doge—Sack of Commacchio—Pietro Sanudo, Doge (887)—Battle of Mucole, and Death of Sanudo (888)—Giovanni Badoer, again Doge—Pietro Tribuno, Doge (888–912)—Defeat of the Huns at Albiola (906)—Orso Badoer (Badoer VI.), Doge (912).

It will be remembered that, about the middle of the fifth century, a Band of Fugitives was compelled by the Hunnic invasion to seek an asylum in the Salt-Lagoon, where they, at first, endeavoured to reconcile themselves to their strange and humble lot[1] by indulging the sense of security and cherishing the hope of return. But affairs soon wore a different aspect. An increase of comfort and prosperity within, coupled with the unabated force of external pressure, slowly fostered in the mind of the Colonists the latent spirit of patriotism and nationality. The Salt-Lagoon gradually became populous and tolerably fertile: gradually, by industry and perseverance, the Exiles of Padua formed within its confined area a flourishing, though small, settlement; and on those barren Holms, where the fisher-

[1] Zanetti (*Dell'Origine di alcune arti presso li Veneziani*, p. 15).

man of Rialto used to dry his nets, were set the Hearths and Altars of a new People.

It stands on record that, in 421, a church, in honour of Saint James, was founded on the Isle of Rialto. under the joint patronage of Severianus Daulus, bishop of Padua, Jucundus, bishop of Treviso, Ambrosius, bishop of Altino, and Epo, bishop of Oderzo.[1] The circumstance, under which the foundations of San Giacomo were laid in the early part of the fifth century, on the island of Rialto, belongs to the most venerable of Venetian traditions. It is related that, when the fugitives from the *terra firma* had already begun the erection of houses on the island, a conflagration broke out in the dwelling of a poor boatman, named Entinopo, and consumed that and several of the contiguous buildings: whereupon, the sufferers recorded a vow, that they would exhibit, if the flames were extinguished, their gratitude by raising on the site of the ferryman's humble residence, a church in honour of Saint James. Their wishes were fulfilled; their vow was accomplished; and on the very ground, which is occupied by the present church of San Giacomo di Rialto, the antient Venetians laid, fourteen hundred years ago, the first stone of the first Christian temple, which rose from the morasses of the Adriatic, as an eternal monument of their faith and God-serving humility. Let no stranger omit to note this spot, and to note it well: for in Venice there are none, which have associations so solemn, so holy, and so sad.

[1] Dandolo (lib. v. p. 69); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 409).

A few years later, in fulfilment of another vow, a second Church with an Oratory was built at Dorsoduro, and dedicated to the archangel Raphael, by Adriana, the wife of Genusius, a Paduan noble, who had fled to the neighbouring lagoon, on the approach of the Huns, with his numerous family;[1] and in 452, when Altino itself was on the eve of destruction, the Episcopal See was transferred to Torcello. These traditions form the oldest historical monuments of the Ecclesiastical History of the Republic, which, with those exceptions, presents a perfect blank till the middle of the sixth century. But subsequently to that period the Hierarchic System was rapidly developed by the fresh irruptions of barbarians, and by the constant influx of immigrants from all parts of the Peninsula. In 550, two churches, one in honour of Saint Theodore, the Tutelary Saint of Venice, the other in that of the martyrs Menna and Geminian, were founded at Rialto,[2] by Narses, the lieutenant of Justinian in Italy, in requital of the zeal, which the islanders had shown in transporting six thousand Lombard mercenaries from Aquileia to Ravenna in their flat-bottomed vessels.

[1] The husband, wishing to remain behind till the last moment, sent his wife and children forward, and Adriana, anxious for his safety, declared that so soon as he arrived in the lagoon, she would shew her gratitude, by founding a church and oratory in honour of the archangel. One of Adriana's daughters afterward became Abbess of San Zaccaria, which was then the only nunnery in Venice, and which stood, according to Sansovino (lib. vi. pp. 243–4), in the same street as the house of Genusius.

[2] Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. ii. p. 109).

In 577, Paul, Patriarch of Aquileia, flying from the persecution of the Lombards, took shelter at Grado, where he built the church of Saint Euphemia. Six years later, while the neighbouring church of Aquileia was tainted by the heresies of Arius, Grado became, by virtue of a Concordat between the successor of Paul and the Holy See (20th April, 583), the metropolitanate of Venice and Istria, and nineteen provincial Sees, among which were those of Padua, Oderzo, Altino, Trieste, Emonia, Concordia, Pola, Parenzo, and Trento, were placed under the pastoral rule of the Primate Elias.[1] In 590, Caorlo received John, bishop of Concordia. In 630, no fewer than eight churches were built at Rialto.[2] Eight years afterward, Paul, bishop of Padua, a fugitive and an exile, sought an asylum, and established a See, at Malamocco. Finally, in 650, three churches, dedicated to San Sergio and Bacco, San Massimo and San Marcelliano, were founded by the Torcellese on the Isle of Costanziaco. These early Temples to the One God were rude and inelegant; their domes were not gilded, nor their walls inlaid with fresco, nor their porches exquisitely carved. On the contrary, although their interiors might be richly embellished with the treasures, which their founders had saved from the ruins of Concordia and Aquileia, wood was the material generally employed in their construction, and their style was, in the last degree, simple and unpretending. Yet the antient Venetians found them not less fitting

[1] Ughellus (*Italia Sacra*, v. p. 83). [2] Sansovino (*Cron. Ven.* p. 8).

or applicable to the rites of a pure and humble religion, than those splendid monuments, which were afterward raised by the genius of the Early Masters.

The late Concordat with the Holy See, which conferred upon the Patriarch of Grado the right of supreme jurisdiction over nineteen episcopal sees in the adjoining provinces, while on the one hand it seemed to promote the ambitious views of the Court of Rome, by extending its influence throughout the Venetian Dominion, was extremely advantageous on the other hand to the Republic herself, both in a commercial and political respect; impelled by that enterprising spirit, which distinguished them in so marked a degree, the Merchants of Venice gradually formed marts and depôts at Justinople and the neighbouring Cities; their urbane manners and judicious moderation won in their favour a general feeling of confidence and goodwill; friendships, intimacies, and matrimonial alliances, followed as a natural consequence; and the early connexion, which the Venetians thus established, through a spiritual medium, with the Illyric Provinces, may be considered as having, in no slight degree, prepared the way for the subsequent reduction of Dalmatia beneath their rule.

But it was hardly to be expected that the privilege accorded by the Roman Pontiff in 583 to the primate Elias, would long remain undisputed. A rival pretender to the metropolitanate soon appeared in the holder of the new patriarchal dignity, which the

Lombards had founded, shortly after the establishment of their power, at Aquileia. The latter, however, was at once pronounced by the Pope to have no legitimate existence or authority, and the election of the Abbot Johannes, the first of the Arian patriarchs of Aquileia, was solemnly condemned by Boniface IV. as uncanonical and null, the Synod, which chose and ordained that prelate, having been convened entirely without the knowledge or sanction of his Holiness: nor was it till the year 720, when the Lombards succeeded in conciliating the Papal See by the annexation of certain territory to the Ecclesiastical States, that the new Church of Aquileia was admitted into the communion.[1]

After the fall of the kingdom of Alboin in the year 800, the patriarchs of Aquileia became sovereigns of the Frioul, and feudal Lords of Carniola;[2] and they became, at the same time, the most troublesome enemies of the Church and Commune of Venice. The encroachments of the patriarch of Grado on their see, and the extension of his influence and jurisdiction over Istria, Dalmatia, and the Frioul, excited their jealousy, and seemed to justify their depredations; and during a period of nearly six hundred years, the two primates were engaged in a desultory course of petty warfare, in which the Aquileian was always the assailant, and generally the loser.

[1] Dissertazione istorica sopra l'antichita del Patriarcato d'Aquileia; *Ap.* Calogiera (*Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli Scientifici*, v. 7.)

[2] Sandi (i. p. 358).

The numerous islands in the Salt Lagoon, which constituted the Venetian Dogado, were divided into the five bishoprics of Equilo, Torcello, Caorlo, Malamocco, and Citta Nuova, to which were subsequently added those of Olivolo and Chioggia; each of these dioceses owed allegiance, and paid tribute, to the metropolitanate of Grado; and prior to his entry into office, each bishop elect was approved by the Doge and the Pope, and consecrated by the primate.[1] In the usual course of promotion, an ecclesiastic became in the first instance the Curé of a Parish; from the office of curé, the step was to the rectorship or *piovanato;* from the latter, he was raised to the chaplaincy of Saint Mark, and thence to the Episcopal Bench, from which the vacancies in the metropolitanate were ordinarily supplied. Such was the general rule; but the exceptions were numerous, and it is probable, that these exceptions arose less frequently from the extraordinary merit of the Curé or Piovan, who might be irregularly promoted, than from the great facilities which the Doge enjoyed under the early Venetian constitution, for elevating his own relatives or dependants at pleasure from the lower to the superior grades of the Priesthood.

Unlike the antient Saxons, whose Witenagemote possessed jurisdiction, both in civil and in spiritual matters, the Venetians organized at a very remote period a Synod, which met at uncertain intervals,

[1] Paolo Sarpi (*Delle Materie Beneficiarie*, p. 76).

under the presidency of the Doge, and which consisted of the patriarch of Grado, of the bishops, and of the other high dignitaries of the church, and which took exclusive cognizance of all matters of a purely spiritual nature, or of any questions which might arise in connexion with ecclesiastical discipline; and on such points the judgment of this Assembly was generally considered as final and conclusive. Indeed, during the infancy of the Republic, and even till the close of the eighth century, the Venetian clergy enjoyed considerable influence, and, as Head of the Church, the Patriarch of Grado occupied an eminent position in the State. But when the reins of government passed into the hands of the great Houses of Badoer and Sanudo, the power of the Priesthood sensibly declined; the Synod became almost entirely subservient to the will of the prince, who convoked and dissolved it at pleasure;[1] without his sanction, its acts were accounted void; and on several occasions, when they expressed a dissent from his views, its decisions were wholly disregarded.

In the flourishing state of the *Monarchy*, the reigning House and its adherents, anxious to strengthen its position, and consolidate its power, invariably aimed at engrossing the spiritual, as well as the secular, authority; and consequently, during that period, the Doge, the Patriarch of Grado, and the Bishops of Olivolo and Torcello, were almost always members of

[1] Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 127); Sandi (i. p. 224).

the same faction, not unfrequently of the same family. This unjust and mischievous monopoly, so natural in a parent, so necessary in a partizan, sowed in the public mind a feeling of discontent, which was much more easily excited than allayed; and it is recognizable as one of the leading causes of the decline of the Ducal authority.

It was to be anticipated that, under such a rule as that of the Badoeri and Sanudi, the hierarchic system would be somewhat loose and irregular: but the fact far surpassed the expectation. No principles of church government or sacerdotal discipline were yet established; no fixed laws were yet laid down for the guidance and control of the Priesthood; and, in that primitive age, even the outline of a canon law is scarcely discernible. Bishops were often elected, and deacons ordained, without reference to their merits or qualifications, through the private patronage and personal influence of the Doge; several instances occurred, in which the sees of Torcello and Olivolo were filled in that manner by unworthy candidates, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the clergy and of the patriarch; and one case is recorded, where the Unction was defiled by the consecration of an eunuch: nor do the incipient measures of ecclesiastical reform, which were introduced toward the middle of the eleventh century, afford a slight proof of the laxity of discipline, which had prevailed before that period.

The Venetian church derived its revenues from a

multiplicity of sources; but tithes in money or in kind were the principal support of benefices. Mortuaries, or heriots upon the dead, formed a class of impost to which the Venetian legislators of the First Age were no strangers. It was on mortuaries, and on an annual poll Tax of three hens which he received from the population of a particular district, that the Bishop of Olivolo almost wholly relied for his income; and on the former account he was familiarly known as *Vescovo de' Morti*, or *the Bishop of the Dead*.

In connexion with the antient theocratic polity of the Venetian Republic, it is proper to consider the system pursued, in the early ages of the commonwealth, with regard to Monastic Institutions. It was originally a common practice for monks and nuns to reside in their own dwellings,[1] and this practice very probably continued, even when the necessity, in the absence of appropriate houses, no longer existed. But Holy Societies of both sexes were formed in Venice at a very remote period, and they were founded and endowed, for the most part, by private families, which assumed invariably the right of patronage (Jus Patronatus), and of selecting the sister or brother Superior from their own kindred.[2] In a State, where

[1] *Lettera di Ag. Gradenigo sopra i monasteri di Venezia al abate Brunacci*, 1760.

[2] "E cosa degna d'osservazione," says Temanza (*Antica Pianta di Venezia*, p. 8), "che tutte le Chiese Parrocchiali, o almeno il maggior parte di esse, edificate in Rialto dopo il doge Agnello Partizipazio, siano state erette a spese di privati cittadini."—*V. infrâ*, ch. vii. ad an. 1102,

a few wealthy Houses, illustrious alike by their birth and attainments, arrogated to themselves the governing power in spiritual as well as in secular matters, this principle of patronage was almost inevitable; and we shall find that the exclusive and engrossing spirit, by which the policy of Venice was so strongly marked and so greatly influenced in other respects, trespassed on the privacy of the cloister. In points of general discipline, and in questions of general importance, the Synod or even the *Arringo* might have a powerful voice, and exercise a legitimate jurisdiction; but a charter, to which the Doge affixed his seal and sign-manual, protected, in almost every case, the rights of the founder and the freedom of the foundation from the inquisitive zeal of the clergy; and it is a fair supposition that, while the conduct of the recluses was guided by the long-established rules of their respective orders, their maintenance and management jointly devolved on the Patron and the Prior. It was an usual practice to appoint in all Monasteries an *Advocate*, whose province it was to represent the institution in law-suits, to manage its temporalities, and to watch over its general interests; and this functionary is mentioned in many documents of early date.

The loose and independent system, which was applied, with very few, if any, exceptions, to all en-

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and compare Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 257), where we read: "Anno M.CII. monasterium Sancti Cypriani translatum est in Murianum, condonanti ad hoc fundum suum Petro Gradonico, *reservanti autem Jure Patronatûs*."

dowments of a sacred character in Venice, clothed the Patron with very large powers; and at the same time that the latter freely placed them at the public service for purposes of worship or seclusion, he rarely failed to claim these monuments of private munificence as an integral portion of his property or heritage. It also frequently happened that, where several endowments were under the same control, a church was transformed at pleasure into a monastery, whenever such a change suited the convenience or taste of the founder or his representatives; and the violence of party spirit sometimes converted the monastery into a prison. All monasteries had a voice in the local chapter,[1] and it appears that these holy Fraternities were not necessarily exempt from the performance of military service: for it is stated in an antient document, that the Priory of Lovoli was obliged to contribute nineteen *Scudati* to the Ducal Body-guard.

In 586, a monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded by the patriarch Elias in that part of the city of Venice, which was subsequently known as the parish of Santa Maria Formosa. In 790, the house of Badoer built, at their own expense, a church in honour of San Gian Battista, and a Priory attached, of which they assumed the exclusive patronage. In 816, the same family converted the church of San Ilario, in Rialto, into a monastery, which they appropriated to the use of the monks of San Leone.

[1] Gradenigo, *Lettera à Brunacci*, 1760. Filiasi, *Memorie Storiche dei Veneti Primi e Secondi*, v.

In 882, the Doge Memo granted the islet of San Giorgio or San Zorzi to Giovanni Morosini, who was desirous of erecting on that site a Benedictine monastery; and already, in the ninth century, the abbeys of San Zaccaria[1] and San Giuliano had acquired a reputation for sanctity and splendour. In 1132, Giovanni, bishop of Olivolo, and son of the Doge Pietro Polani, founded a Cistercian monastery, which he dedicated to San Daniello; and lastly, in 1146, Giovanni Trono, having received the grant of a portion of the island of San Giacomo del Paludo, from Orso Badoer, the lord of the manor, erected thereon a cognominal Church and Priory. The above are a few, among many instances which might be adduced; but these will suffice to exemplify the foregoing observations, while they tend to shew that, from the earliest period of her existence, and in all her antient institutions, the Republic of Venice betrayed in progressive stages of germination the growth of that oligarchy, which became, in the end, the ruling principle of her government.

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[1] In 1097, Folco, the son of Azzo II., Marquis of Este, endowed this abbey with some land in Montfelice. *Antichita Estense* (part i. ch. 32); Muratori (*Annali*, vi. p. 380). Toward the close of the eleventh century, and during the earlier part of the twelfth, the emperors of the East, anxious to preserve the friendship, or regain the favour, of the republic, bestowed several valuable gifts on the church of Saint Mark, and on many of the Venetian monasteries. In 1116, Cresimir, king of Croatia, with the approval of the Doge Faliero II., conferred numerous privileges on Saint John's Abbey, at Belgrado, in Dalmatia. Muratori (*Dissertationes*, i. nos. 5 and 17); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. 11). From the fifth dissertation of Muratori (*Charta Placiti*, &c.), it appears that the abbey of San Zaccaria had some disputed possessions in the *Padovano*. The litigation lasted nearly a century (1000–1100).

On the flight of the two Galbaii in 804, and the succession of his friend and accomplice, the late Tribune of Malamocco, the Primate Fortunato had returned to Venice, where he considered that he had every title to expect a favourable reception. On the other hand, although he might partly owe his success and actual position to the patriarch, Obelerio di Antenori was anxious to disclaim even his former connexion with a man toward whom the people bore a strong dislike, as the friend of their bitterest enemy; and from 804 till the battle of Albiola, Fortunato had lived for the most part in retirement at his residence near Campalta, on the banks of the Silis. But after the defeat of Pepin and the proscription of the Antenori, the patriarch was invited by the new Doge Badoer to return to his country and his see; and Fortunato remained at Grado in the full enjoyment of his rank and dignity, until, some suspicion or mischance having occasioned the discovery of a secret correspondence with the French Court, he received a peremptory command from the Government to quit the Venetian territories for ever.[1] The exile sought an asylum and a home at Constantinople; and he was subsequently sent by the Emperor Michael I., in the quality of an ambassador, to Paris, where he seems to have died about the year 825.[2] By his will,[3] his

[1] "Hoc tempore Veneti adversus Patriarcham Fortunatum denuo concitati, cum de Patriâ expulerunt."—*Dandolo* (viii. 168). See also *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. viii. 227).

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 29). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 168).

[3] Filiasi (v. p. 315); Marin (i. p. 270).

ample fortune was distributed into annuities and bequests to various churches and monasteries in Venice. His serfs, cattle, horses, orchards, and olive-groves were left, for the most part, to the church of Santa Eufemia, which was also enriched with altars of gold and silver, altar-cloths, surplices, chalices, vases and goblets of porphyry, and mitres of curious fabric, studded with jewels. The monastery of Santa Maria Genetrice received thirty pounds of silver, a ship, with all its rigging and equipments, and a hundred bushels of corn.[1] The abbey of San Giuliano was endowed with a yearly pension equal to five hundred and twenty-eight silver ducats (about 280*l.*) The church of the Virgin at Torcello was covered with a roof of lead, and a certain sum was appropriated out of the same fund to the restoration of the churches of Santa Agata and San Peregrino, to the former of which Fortunato likewise bequeathed some land, an annuity of ten silver *lire*, and vestments of linen and silk. To various other holy or charitable institutions were assigned legacies or donations of equal or even greater value. Nor does it appear that these liberal bequests represented the slow and laborious result of thrift and economy: for there is equally strong evidence in favour of the supposition that, while he continued to enjoy the rank of metropolitan, this rich and sumptuous priest lived at Grado in a style of unexampled magnificence.[2] The

[1] Moreover, says Fortunato, "misimus ibi presbyteros et clericos, qui ibi Deum cœli quotidie laudant."

[2] Filiasi (v. p. 38) tells us that on one occasion Fortunato brought from Constantinople two ivory gates: "mirabilmente lavorate e sculte."

will of Fortunato is an extremely valuable and curious document, inasmuch as it throws light on an otherwise obscure period, and affords a tolerably clear insight into the nature and extent of the means of a wealthy Venetian of the eighth century.[1] The observation has been made that, in the time of Fortunato, the large capitalists invariably aimed at investing their surplus means in that species of property which was least open to the depredations of their neighbours or their enemies, and that hence it was that, during the medieval period, we find such enormous sums devoted to the foundation and decoration of churches or monasteries, such an extensive employment of the precious metals in the manufacture of altars, chalices, communion-cups, and other sacred utensils; this, it is added, was a practice enforced on the patriarch and his opulent contemporaries by the lawless character of the age in which they lived. There may be general truth in this remark; but it must be received with qualification. Nothing is more easily capable of proof than that the Venetians of the richer class, both clergy and laity, applied themselves from the earliest times to the acquisition of landed and personal property within the Dogado and on the *terra firma*, and that it was by no means their custom, from fear of spoliation, to place the bulk of their possessions in mortmain. Of this Fortunato himself presented a notable instance. The patriarch was only too well aware that, although religious considerations might,

[1] The testament is textually preserved by Marin, *ubi suprâ*.

in many cases, have their weight, and that many of those who would have committed without scruple or misgiving ordinary rapine, might shrink from the commission of sacrilege, there had been even in his time,[1] for example, profane plunderers who had planted their foot on the holy threshold; and borne away the sacred treasures of Santa Eufemia.

The judges of the palace (or *Corte Ducale*) had now discharged their important trust; and their report, which seems to have been drawn up in a spirit of severe impartiality, had implicated in the murder of the Doge Tradenigo the members of several of the highest families in Venice. It appeared that the plot had been concocted by Stefano Sanudo and his son Pietro, Giovanni Gradenigo, Domenigo Faliero, Giovanni Lambrescha, Orso Grugnacio, Pietro Flabenigo, Stefano di Sabulo, and others of the same class.[2] In pursuance of the decision of the Court, the new Doge Badoer IV. caused Gradenigo, Sabulo, and Lambrescha, to be put to death; while the rest, with the exception of Grugnacio, who was acquitted, underwent a sentence of perpetual banishment.[3] Grugnacio, however, died shortly afterward under very singular circumstances; and the popular tale

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[1] *Vide suprâ*, ch. i.

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 40). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 180). Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 456). Filiasi (vi. p. 98).

[3] P. Giustiniani (*Chronica di Venezia*, p. 27, King's MSS. 148).

that he was visited and worried by an evil spirit, excites a suspicion that his death was effected by poison.[1] The trial and condemnation of the Sanudo cabal was alike honourable to the impartial character of the new Doge, and to the Venetian civilization of the ninth century; for although the Sanudi were saved from public execution from motives of prudence, it was hardly the less to be expected that an inquiry and sentence, which tarnished the fame of so many noble families, would have the result of arraying against the House of Badoer a large and powerful faction. Still the career of Orso was long, peaceful, and prosperous; and during a reign of seventeen years, he earned the glory of preserving the confidence and love of his compatriots.

The year 864 was distinguished by the despatch of a Venetian fleet in quest of the Sea-Robbers, who had now begun to infest the whole littoral of Istria, Carinthia, and the Frioul, and who were said to be lurking, at the present juncture, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lagoon. Those bold and predaceous corsairs, whose lawless cupidity spurned all deference to human justice, and whose habits of life taught them to deride the restraints of civilized communities, found that in proportion as the Venetians became more wealthy as a nation, piracy became more

[1] Giustiniani, *ubi suprâ*. "Domino," says this writer, alluding to Grugnacio, "conquassatus expiravit." In the *Historia Veneta Secreta* the foregoing names are found with some trifling variations (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8578, fol. 64–5). Also in Lorenzo di Monacis, fol. 35 (ibid. 8574).

remunerative as a calling; and they often penetrated with impunity so far as Justinople (or Capo d'Istria) and Trieste, whence they returned with a rich booty to their strongholds on the coast of Dalmatia. The island squadron chased the enemy out of the gulf, but it does not appear, that the expedition of Badoer brought any permanent fruits.[1] Three years later, Basilius I., the successor of the Greek Emperor Michael III., anxious to restore the empire of Rome in Italy, concerted with the Western Emperor Louis a plan for the expulsion of the Saracens from the Peninsula. But the maritime power of the latter, and the enfeebled condition of his own navy, led Basilius to the conclusion, that the co-operation of Venice would importantly promote the success of the undertaking; and he judged rightly that such a proposal would touch a sympathetic chord in the heart of the Republic. The Doge Badoer, in fact, readily agreed to bear a part in the enterprise; and a fleet, under the command of his son Giovanni, was despatched without delay to the Gulf of Tarentum, where the admiral met the object of his search. The followers of Badoer beheld the theatre of their former defeat, and although the Mussulmen shewed their customary valour and address, the energy with which the hope of retrieving their fortune, and effacing their disgrace, inspired the Venetians, vanquished every obstacle; and the infidels were worsted. The parti-

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 42). Anonymus Salernitanus (*Chronicon*, p. 8).

cipation of the Greeks in this expedition had been feeble and insincere; their share of the glory was proportionately slender; and the Emperor Basilius, who had furnished his lieutenant with secret instructions to negotiate a matrimonial alliance between the daughter of Louis and his son, the Valet of Constantinople, was so much piqued at the failure of this intrigue, coupled with the single-handed triumph of Giovanni Badoer, that he abruptly recalled his squadron to the port of Corinth.[1]

The Saracens, however, were in no humour to bear their defeat with complacency; and a league with the Arabs of Candia[2] soon enabled them to retrieve the losses which they had sustained at Tarentum, and to ascend the gulf in considerable force. They advanced without opposition almost within sight of the harbour of Grado, where they surprised a small craft, which the Doge had sent to reconnoitre; the boat was easily captured; and, with a single exception, the crew were barbarously murdered. But the solitary mariner who had succeeded in effecting his escape, lost no time in making known at Rialto the fate of his companions and the imminent danger of the Republic; and Badoer instantly sent a small force, commanded, as before, by his son, to relieve Grado, which was already in a state of blockade, and to expel the enemy from the

[1] Lupus Protospata (*Chronicon Rerum in Regno Napoletano Gestarum*, p. 1). Herempertus (*Epitome Chronici*, p. 23). Sagorninus (*Chron.* p. 42). Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 456).

[2] Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 58).

gulf. The latter, however, incumbered with spoil, and fearful of confronting the Islanders in their native lagoons, more especially under such a leader, anticipated the approach of the Venetian admiral, and hastily retraced their course toward the Mediterranean. But, in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, this circumstance did not invalidate the claims of Giovanni, who had already earned a title to public gratitude by his unaided success at Tarentum; and the National Convention experienced little difficulty in persuading the Doge to associate his son (867-8).[1]

On the occurrence of a vacancy in the see of Torcello, the Doge, having nominated Domenigo the son of Leone Caloprini, and an eunuch,[2] as his successor, called on the patriarch of Grado, Pietro Marcurio,[3] to hallow the iniquity. But the latter, whose conscience revolted at the consecration of a crime, firmly refused to comply; Badoer was pressing in his solicitations; Marcurio was still more inflexible in his purpose; and after a nugatory appeal to the laws of justice and decency, the Metropolitan at last turned his back upon Venice, and sought an asylum at the court of John VIII. The Pontiff was shocked at the origin of the breach between the Doge and his Primate; and he immediately directed a message to Caloprini, enjoining him, together with the Bishops of Equilo and Mala-

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 186). [2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 44).

[3] The latter was the same who had formed, in concert with Orso Badoer and Baseio Storlado, a provisional government during the temporary absence of Badoer III., in 835-6. See Sansovino (*Cronico*, p. 15).

mocco, to repair to Rome, where his Holiness signified an intention of inquiring into the circumstances of the case. Neither Caloprini, however, nor the other two bishops, who seem to have been in his interest, answered the summons; and the Pontiff was informed that, while the presence of Pietro of Equilo was required elsewhere on matters of urgency, Felice of Malamocco was incapacitated by sickness from undertaking so long a journey. But the Pope was not so easily blinded; and, in a second communication addressed to the Doge himself, Badoer was conjured to facilitate, or, if it were necessary, to enforce, the compliance of these refractory churchmen, whose dioceses might be given in charge, as his Holiness suggested, during their absence, to the Bishops of Caorlo and Olivolo. The injunction and advice were alike disregarded. No bishops presented themselves; and his Holiness was placed in a most delicate predicament. He determined, however, to make one more effort; and the prelates were now invited to appear before a synod, which the Pontiff purposed to hold at Ravenna, on the 22nd July, 877.[1] In this instance his Serenity the Doge was induced to give way; but unfortunately the bishops did not reach their destination till the Council had risen, and John was persuaded to withhold his anathema only by the personal intercession of Badoer. Such was the first occasion on which the Venetians assumed

[1] Sagorninus (*Chronicon*, p. 44). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 185). Romanin (i. 195).

that firm and bold attitude toward the Holy See, from which they never shrank or swerved, even when fortune had ceased to smile on the Lion of Saint Mark.

Caloprini enjoyed the title and the revenues of the bishopric of Torcello during the lifetime of Marcurio; and when the metropolitanate was at length vacated by the decease of the latter in 874, Vettore Badoer, the fifth son of the Doge, condescended to purchase the vacant dignity with a promise to consecrate the mitred eunuch. During the distasteful ceremony, however, the newly elected patriarch, visited by certain qualms of conscience, made an attempt to palliate the course he had pursued by passing a severe censure on the unfortunate prelate, and the pride of Caloprini was cruelly mortified by a pointed and unfeeling allusion, in the presence of a numerous assembly, to his personal blemish.[1]

Soon after the close of this rupture with the Court of Rome, Badoer was obliged to equip a second expedition against the Narentines, who, with the concurrence and aid of Walpert, patriarch of Aquileia, were desolating the Istrian dioceses of the metropolitanate of Grado (878). The Venetians, whose squadron, counting thirty galleys, was commanded by the Doge himself, proceeded a considerable distance along the Dalmatian coast without descrying the objects of their search. But the track of the

[1] Cornaro (*Ecclesiæ Venetæ Antiqua Monumenta*, i. p. 1).

enemy was too clearly detected by the ruins of Omago, Emonia, Parenzo, and Rovigno; and at length the Pirates were observed bearing down on them, elated by the splendid success of their foraging excursion. The struggle which ensued, though by no means bloodless, speedily terminated in favour of the Islanders. The Buccaneers, in truth, overladen with spoil, and fatigued by their previous exertions, were totally defeated. Nor did Badoer omit to shew that he knew how to make the best use of his victory. Without delay or reservation, the plunder which fell into his hands was restored to the sufferers, and the unfortunate Istrians whom the Pirates had contrived to capture, returned unexpectedly in Venetian ships to surprise and console their bereaved families.

Having thus disposed of the Pirates, the Doge determined to chastise their accomplice, the warlike churchman of Aquileia; by his order, all commercial intercourse between Aquileia and the lagoon was suddenly discontinued; and Walpert, reduced by straitened resources to a considerable dilemma, soon justified the step by humbly soliciting the revocation of the interdict. The Doge, on his part, was not inexorable; and it is natural to suppose that his anger was somewhat mollified by the solemn engagement of the Patriarch to desist from molesting the four mercantile Depôts which his Serenity owned in the market-place of Aquileia. On the other hand, the subjects of Walpert were left at liberty to trade, as heretofore, on easy terms with Pilo and the other ports of Venice; and

Badoer gave a pledge that no undue restraint should be placed on their commercial dealings with the Republic.[1]

It was during the lengthened administration of Badoer IV. that the first step was taken in the direction of financial reform. Down to the present time there had been nearly as entire an absence of artificial elaboration in this department of the government as in the earliest days of Venetian liberty, and the nature of the taxes which composed the public revenue was so loose, and their levy so irregular, that Badoer came to the resolution, some years after his accession, of proposing to the National Assembly the establishment of the Ducal exchequer on some footing of stability. The payment of tithes was an usage of high antiquity. Posterior to 697, it was customary for each House to lay at the feet of the Chief Magistrate its proportionate oblation of fish, bread, oil, honey, wine, and the other necessaries of life. But time had tended to impair the efficacy of this system rather than to improve it. When the increasing importance of the Republic began to render the calls on the national fund heavier, as well as more frequent, it too often happened that a sudden and untoward emergency betrayed the nakedness of the Fisc, and exposed the fallacy of the system; and the feeling had become general that consequences most fatal to the welfare of the Commune would inevitably

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 457). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 188). Filiasi (vi. p. 120).

accrue, unless some cure was speedily found for such a grave constitutional evil. It was the plan of Badoer to attain the desired object, and to obviate the threatened danger in some degree, by encouraging persons to settle on the islands of San Nicolo, Dorsoduro and Murano, which, owing to their unprotected situation and the constant dread of piratical incursions, had been hitherto devoted almost exclusively to gardens and pastures; and each proprietor or tenant was required to attend the Doge in the quality of an Excusato in his Ducal palace, at certain specific and determinate seasons, and pay to the Treasury, as a species of feudal tax, the tenth[1] part of his yearly income.

At the same time, with the concurrence of the clergy, and the approval of the popular assembly, an edict was issued by Orso, prohibiting the traffic of the merchants in Christian slaves, which had formed, down to the present time, a large and lucrative branch of Venetian commerce; and a heavy fine,[2] or the amputation of a limb, or, in extreme cases, decollation, was the penalty affixed to the transgression of the new statute. The spirit of Venetian legislation, like that of the Anglo-Saxon and other medieval codes, was vindicatory rather than remedial. Every crime bore its price; and where resort was had to capital

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 188). Bernardo Trevisano (*Laguna di Venezia*, p. 59).

[2] 20 pounds of gold = 1,920 sequins = about 5,280 silver ducats, according to the computation of Marin (i. p. 267). Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 29).

punishment, it was more frequently on political than on judicial grounds. An age which possessed but imperfect notions of the connexion between law and morality, and in which there was a strong tendency to reduce human obligations to a standard of commercial fitness, was precisely an age which might be expected to view with favour a system of pecuniary atonements, forming the most simple species of direct taxation. It is a remarkable circumstance that in cases where an accused pleaded innocence, the trial of the question of fact was appointed to fall on a jury of twelve persons, who were bound to deliver a verdict upon oath.[1] The decree of 878 was the earliest enactment of that nature; but it was followed, at intervals, by others of a more severe and binding description; and it is fair to observe, that the priesthood was ever foremost in advocating the cause of justice and philanthropy. How far in the prominent share which they bore in framing this series of salutary and humane measures, the Church Party might have been influenced by secret motives of a factious complexion, it is impossible to judge. But, nevertheless, it is certain that the Venetian attempt in the ninth century to extinguish Christian slavery, was almost as

[1] Saint Marc (*Abrégé Chron.* i. p. 34) tells us "that Gregory VII., hearing that some Venetian merchants had bought some Christian slaves at Rome, went to the market and emancipated them." But it is evident that this story is identical with the well-known tradition. The slaves were probably brought to Rome from Britain by some Venetian trader. "Non Angli, sed Angeli forent, si essent Christiani," said Gregory in reply to the intimation that they were *Angles*. For a second instance of the same kind, however, see Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 25):

premature as it was laudable: for it was an attempt directed not only against interests which were too valuable to be promptly surrendered, but against a principle, which, though abhorred by a few sages, and though denounced from a few pulpits, had not yet been condemned by the voice of public opinion; and it was public opinion alone, seconded by a progressive civilization, which possessed the power of remedying an evil rooted so deeply in the strongest of human instincts.

Badoer IV. died, after a reign of seventeen years, in 881; and the ducal crown descended, without any opposition, to his eldest son Giovanni (Badoer V.), whom he had associated a short time before. Besides the new Doge, and Vettore, patriarch of Grado, his late Serenity left three sons, Badoer, Pietro, and Orso; and two daughters, Giovanna, abbess of San Zaccaria, and Felicia, who was united to Rodoald, Duke of Bologna.[1]

Two centuries had elapsed since the fall of the Tribunes, and thirteen Doges had already reigned in Venice. Yet these magistrates, at first content to preserve the liberty of their country, and afterward engaged, for the most part, either in quelling or in promoting civil discord, had never heretofore found the opportunity, or felt the desire, of extending the Venetian dominion beyond the narrow confines of the Salt-Lagoon; it consequently remained for Badoer V.

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 50).

to furnish that proof of ambition, and to set that example of conquest. The town of Commacchio, situated on an inlet of the Adriatic, several miles below Brondolo, and the seat of a flourishing trade in fish and salt, was held in fief of the court of Rome, at this period, by a son of one of the followers of the Emperor Louis the German. His name was Marino d'Este;[1] and a repeated refusal on the part of the second Count of Commacchio to recognize the obligations of a vassal, had gradually engendered a feeling between him and his suzerain, which was highly favourable to the views of Badoer. The latter at once conceived the idea of turning this convenient disagreement to his own advantage; and while he expressed an anxiety to get rid of a troublesome rival, the Doge secretly harboured a desire to annex the property of D'Este to the feudal patrimony of the House of Participazio.[2] At the same time, however, he was reluctant to prefer a personal claim; and he therefore resolved to send his brother, Badoer Badoer, to Rome, to treat with the Pontiff on his behalf for the transfer of the coveted fief.[3] The mission of the noble envoy, whose stake in the result gave a peculiar edge to his zeal, was entirely successful; his Holiness, who had long sought an opportunity of venting his spite against D'Este, gladly acquiesced in the proposal. But,

[1] Morosini (lib. iii. p. 70). Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 950).

[2] The house of Badoer was also known as the house of Participazio in the early days of the Republic.

[3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 61).

meanwhile, the Count, duly apprised of this intrigue, had organized in concert with the Ravennese a plot against the unsuspecting and unwary Badoer; and as the latter was proceeding homeward through Ravenna, he was caught in an ambuscade, wounded in the leg[1] in a desperate scuffle with his captors, and conducted to Commacchio, where he was detained by his rival in close confinement, till the poignancy of suffering and the sense of approaching dissolution wrang from him an unwilling promise that, as the condition of his immediate enlargement, he would forgive the injury, and forget the hand which had done it. The unfortunate prince returned to his native City to die; in his last moments he half unconsciously denounced Marino d'Este as the perpetrator of the deed; and his brother, incensed beyond control by so gross an outrage, lost no time in appearing with an armed squadron before Commacchio. D'Este had fled; his domains fell an easy prey to the sword of the invader; and the authority of the magistrates whom the Doge left in charge of the place, was seconded by the presence of a Venetian garrison.[2] Nor was Badoer disposed to pardon the collusion of Ravenna in the recent misadventure; and that antient capital of the Greek Exarchate was compelled to atone with her blood for the succour which she had afforded to her feeble neighbour. Still the object which the Doge had had in

[1] Sagorninus, 52.

[2] Ibid. (*Chron.* 52).

view was entirely thwarted by the death of his brother; and while it might be considered expedient to abandon the design of erecting Commacchio into a heritage for the Participazii, or of embodying it with the Republic, the failure of the scheme was not less mortifying to the proud and sensitive spirit of Badoer: nor is it unlikely that it was instrumental in hastening a half-formed determination to withdraw from public life.

The health of Badoer V. had indeed been long ailing.[1] He began to feel the cares of government irksome and oppressive. The undivided weight of the berretta produced a growing sensation of lassitude; and the natural asperity of his temper was increased by the thought that he had no son to whom he might secure the succession, and who, in his declining years, might discharge the active duties of the magistracy. His brothers, Pietro and Orso, were both till recently still living; and shortly after the miscarriage of the attempt on Commacchio, the Doge had designed to associate the former. But the sudden death of Pietro, who had only just attained his twenty-fifth year, forestalled him in his purpose; and, his remaining brother having refused, from modesty or indolence of disposition, to accept the proffered trust, Giovanni hesitated no longer in declaring his wish to abdicate. Such an announcement created some surprise, without encountering any opposition; and, at the recommendation of the ex-

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 52-3).

Doge himself, Pietro Sanudo, a citizen of Rialto, was summoned from his private dwelling at San Severo, in the Ward of San Marco, to the Palace (17th April, 887),[1] where Badoer delivered to him with his own hand the sword of State and the sceptre of ivory, and placed on his brows the Ducal berretta. The new Doge was a nobleman of bold and enterprising character, and, in point of worldly means, of considerable affluence. He was no less distinguished by the punctilious strictness with which he followed his religious observances, than by the princely munificence which he displayed in relieving the necessities of the poor. In person Sanudo was of the middle height, and at the period of his election he was in the forty-fourth year of his age. His accession to the throne in the healthy prime of manhood gave his subjects and kindred every promise of a long reign.[2]

On the receipt of intelligence, however, in the

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[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 54).

[2] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 192) sums up thus the character of this Doge:—"Vir fuit bellicosus, et audax, sapiens, et admodum largus; ecclesiarum vero in tantum devotus, ut nullo tempore currente divino officio defuerit." See also P. Giustiniani (*Chronica di Venetia*, p. 28, King's MSS. 148).

The following note respecting the genealogy and character of the family to which the new Doge belonged will perhaps gratify the curious reader:—"Candiani, qui modo Sanuti nominati sunt, de Candianâ parte venerunt. Tribuni antiquiores fuerunt. Benevoli omnes, sed in bello potentes, *et de personis magni.*" Again: "I Sanuti discesero da *Janus, Re di Padova*, detto Candiano, per la qual discesa furono chiamati Candiani, dipoi Sanuti. Questi furono Tribuni antichi, e superbissimi. Sempre sono state buttaleri. E per la sufficienza e bonta di un Ser Tommaso Candiano Tribuno della Citta de Padoa l'anno 421, egli ando in compagna di Ser Alberto Faletro e Ser Giovanni Daulo a dare principio all' edificazione di Rivoalto." (Sanudo, *Vite*, 430.)

following August,[1] that the Corsairs of Narenta were again hovering on the skirts of the Lagoon, the Doge Sanudo, who was of an impetuous temper, assumed the command of twelve galleys,[2] and sailed along the coast of Dalmatia in quest of the natural and hereditary enemies of a mercantile community. After a long and apparently vain search, the Pirates were at length descried in the bosom of a bay off Mucole,[3] near Zara; he instantly directed his course toward them; and the approach of the Venetians served, by cutting off the retreat of the Narentines, to animate their courage. The first onset of the latter was consequently tremendous; the islanders were barely able to withstand the shock; and this foretaste of success was well calculated to inspire the hope of an easy triumph. But the expectation was falsified; the voice and example of Sanudo instilled into his followers a spiritual energy, which was exhaustive; and after a severe loss, both in men and ships, the buccaneers were compelled to acknowledge the superior prowess or fortune of their opponents, by retreating in disorderly haste to the shore. Saint Mark and the Venetians had triumphed; it remained for the Doge to use the victory. The latter having secured a portion of the enemy's fleet, determined to destroy the remainder; and with that blind, restless

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 54).

[2] *Chroniche Veneziane*, fol. 67, (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8579). The names of the twelve captains are there given. We find in the list a Dandolo, a Morosini, a Contarini, a Zeno, a Cornaro, an Orseolo.

[3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 54).

ardour which was natural in him, he bore an active and prominent part in the operation. While he was thus absorbed, heedless of the Pirates who were watching his movements from the land, a well-directed shaft pierced his breast; he fell without a groan; and his troops, panic-stricken at the sight, hurriedly consigned the body of their brave and noble leader to Andrea Tribuno,[1] one of his kinsmen, and set all sail for Grado, abandoning with a pang the trophies of their success. But the Corsairs were on the alert; to regain their vessels, and to pursue their pursuers, was the work of an instant; and they ceased not to harass the flight of the islanders until the latter had passed the sacred barrier of the Salt-Lagoon. There the half-superstitious dread of becoming entangled in a labyrinth of sand dissuaded a nearer approach; and the Narentines, fortunately unconscious of the splendid success which might have crowned an inroad at that conjuncture, leisurely retraced their steps seaward, until they were lost in the offing. Such was the final issue of the Battle of Mucole, and such was the sad fate of the first Venetian Prince of the House of Sanudo, after a reign of five months. The fall of Sanudo afforded the earliest instance in which a Doge of Venice had died for the Republic.[2]

Meanwhile, the news of the battle, and the remains of the Doge, had reached Rialto; the whole capital was

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 192). Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 458).

[2] Pietro Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 4 (King's MSS. 148). Caroldo, *Historia di Venetia*, p. 7 (King's MSS. 147).

thrown into a state of bewilderment and suspense; the apprehension became rife that the enemy, who had followed closely in the wake of the fugitives, might soon be at the very stair of the Piazzetta; and the people felt that the choice of a new sovereign was a question which demanded riper consideration than the pressure of existing circumstances seemed to allow. In this exigency they formed the resolution of soliciting Giovanni Badoer to return to the throne which he had so recently vacated; and, although the health of the ex-Doge had become exceedingly weak and precarious, he consented, from deference to the wish of his fellow-citizens, to resume the reins of government, until they had finally decided on the succession. No steps, however, appear to have been taken in the matter, until Badoer had already reigned provisionally six months and thirteen days, when, at his earnest desire, the people through their representatives proceeded to the election in the usual manner, and Pietro, the son of Domenigo Tribuno, by Angela, the niece of Pietro Sanudo, was nominated Doge (April, 888).[1]

During the eighteen years which elapsed from the final resignation of Badoer V., the internal condition of the Republic was uniformly peaceful and thriving; the natives of the Salt-Lagoon, unharassed by faction, continued to pursue their customary avocations with

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 5). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 192). P. Giustiniani (*Chronica di Venetia*, p. 28, King's MSS. 148). Pietro Dolfino (*Annali Veneti*, p. 23, King's MSS. 149). Lorenzo de Monacis, fol. 36 (Add. MSS. 8574).

steady success; and under the auspices of commerce and industry the Venetian State began to flourish and increase. Still the Doge and his subjects were regarding with a watchful and anxious eye the progress of events in the Peninsula. Although, amid the violent changes which had supervened in the government of Italy since the death of Charlemagne, their Commune had hitherto succeeded in maintaining her neutrality without compromising her freedom, the Venetians were too wise to conceal from themselves the likelihood, that they might ultimately be obliged to deviate from that pacific policy, that it might become necessary for them to interpose a barrier of steel between their homes and a foreign, perhaps a barbarian invader; and they prudently determined not to neglect the present opportunity of forearming themselves to the utmost possibility against any sudden emergency. The fortifications of the islands, which, with the single exception of the Fort erected at Brondolo in 750 by Orso II., were still wholly defenceless, engaged therefore the immediate attention of Tribuno; by his direction, booms of great strength, removeable at pleasure, were prepared to span the mouths of the canals, and to be secured at either side by stakes firmly planted in the ground, or by staples fixed in the walls of adjacent buildings; from the *Rio di Castello* to Santa Maria Jubenigo was begun the erection of a lofty and massive wall;[1] and the islet

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 57). It seems to have never been completed. Temanza says, that when in 1174, or thereabout, the Doge Seb. Ziani

of Olivolo, girded by a broad and high rampart, assumed the form of a citadel with the name of *Castello*. The sombre and threatening aspect of affairs in the Peninsula, which had now been during the greater part of two centuries a continual prey to anarchy, fully warranted these precautions; and even the deposition of Charles le Gros, in 888, which had been hailed by all classes of his subjects as an augury of peace, was merely the signal for a War of Succession between Berenger, Duke of the Frioul, and Guido, Duke of Spoleto. In the same year, however, the former received the imperial crown from the Pope, Stephen V.; and in 892, he was succeeded by his former competitor, who resigned the throne of the West two years later to his own son Lambert.[1] These frequent changes did not escape the notice of the Venetians, whose undoubted interest it was as a trading community to court the commercial patronage of each new sovereign. In May, 883, Badoer V., through his ambassador Lorenzo Barbarotello, Bishop of Olivolo,[2] obtained from Charles le Gros the quinquennial[3] renewal of the treaty,

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erected the *Red Columns* on the Piazza of Saint Mark, no part of this wall was in existence. It had probably fallen to decay, and had never been restored (*Antica Pianta di Venezia*, p. 27). Arrigo Contarini, in 1091, was the first bishop who changed the title of the diocese from Olivolo to Castello. See Sansovino (lib. i. p. 5).

[1] Luitprand, Bishop of Pavia (*Hist.* lib. i. ch. x., and lib. ii. ch. xiii.) Muratori (*Annali*, v. p. 273).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. ii. p. 49). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 188-9).

[3] The system of renewing the charter every five years was introduced, according to Dandolo, by Lothar, the son of Louis the Pious, in 840

originally accorded to the Republic by the Lombard kings; and in 889, the Doge Tribuno easily prevailed on Guido, whose friendship and influence the Islanders appear to have judged more practically useful than that of the Papal Emperor, to endorse the terms of that compact.

Under these circumstances the Republic of Venice entered on the tenth century of the Christian era, the fifth of her own existence; and, notwithstanding the forebodings of the Doge and his people, everything seemed to prognosticate a long continuance of that tranquillity which their Commune had enjoyed, almost without interruption, since the Battle of Albiola, when it was suddenly announced that a large horde of Huns, allured by the prospect of an easy conquest and of a rich spoil, were approaching Lombardy, spreading havoc along their whole line of march (906).

That extensive tract of country, lying between the Adriatic and the Alps, which had once been so wealthy and so powerful, was now, however, too feeble to stay the progress, too barren to appease the avarice, of an invader; and a report reached the ears of the barbarians, that on the shore of the gulf dwelled a people, whose opulence surpassed their wildest visions of gain.[1] It was consequently soon known at Rialto that the Huns were contemplating a descent on the

[1] "I Veneziani seppero fino da secoli più lontani riunire nelle loro lagune la massima possibile popolazione, il massimo possibile de' comodi, e la massima possibile ricchezza."—*Filiasi* (*Ricerche Storiche*, 7).

Island City. The intelligence diffused the greatest agitation and terror. The feeling became general that a new crisis was forthcoming for Venetian liberty and independence; and Tribuno, justifying by his collected bearing in that trying moment the choice of his fellow-citizens, lost no time in awakening the people to a sense of their duty as well as of their danger. Addressing the Arrengo, the Doge appealed, in few but impressive words, to the noble origin of the Venetians and the immemorial freedom of the Republic; he recalled to their recollection the deeds and misfortunes of their progenitors, and the terrible sacrifices which the Exiles of Padua had made to liberty; he exhorted them, above all, not to forget the Battle of Albiola, where Angelo Badoer, the Tribune of Rialto, had defeated King Pepin; and he asseverated shudderingly that, should their efforts not experience success, they would not be slain only, but *devoured*, by a horde of ferocious cannibals. Who, he asked, would not draw the sword in defence of his hearth and his country, against such a foe?[1]

In the meantime, Chioggia, Pelestrina, Citta Nuova, Malamocco, and Equilo were laid in ruins, and the invaders had approached almost so far as Albiola, before the Doge advanced with his fleet to bar their farther progress. Happily for the Venetians, the Huns, imagining that an attack on the side of the sea would be most effectual, had rashly undertaken

[1] *Chron. Venez.* (Add. MSS. 8579, fol. 69, vol. i.)

the management of some ships which they found in the ports of the deserted cities of Padua, Concordia, and Aquileia; and thus the barbarians, unversed in the art of navigation, unconsciously placed in the hands of their intended victims a weapon which the latter knew well how to turn to the best advantage. The countrymen of Attila were, in all probability, unaware of the close proportion which subsisted between the wealth and the power[1] of the Republic; that, while the Venetian Commune became more worthy, it also grew more difficult, of conquest; and they expected, perhaps, to subjugate with ease that little Band of Fugitives whom their great king had spared so unwillingly in 452. This illusion, however, was quickly dissipated. Conducted by their Chief Magistrate himself, who had in the hour of danger promptly exchanged the sceptre and the ducal bonnet for a sword and a helmet, the Venetians glided softly forward in their flat vessels over the shallow waters; and those nimble and expert mariners, profiting to the utmost extent by their local knowledge and dexterity, easily succeeded in dispersing and destroying the frail and clumsy barks of the Huns, the greater part of whom were suffocated beneath the yielding surface of the Lagoon. The remainder effected a precipitate retreat to the mainland; and even of

[1] The population of the islands in 906 may be estimated at between 35,000 and 40,000 souls: in 1170, it had reached 64,000. It is well known that down to the middle of the ninth century, the islands of Spina-Lunga (Guidecca), Dorso Duro, Olivolo, Murano, and San Nicolo were uninhabited.

these, few were fortunate enough to regain their native homes on the banks of Lake Mæotis, or on the shore of the Caspian. The rout of the enemy was rapid and complete; and it afforded the second instance in which the Republic of Venice was indebted for her very existence as a State to her isolated situation, to the dangerous intricacy of the narrow and serpentine channels, which alone gave access to her Capital, and to the extraordinary resolution which the noble love of independence, and the sense of unprovoked wrong, inspire in the mind of a free people. Still the losses of the victors were far from trivial. By the ravages of fire and the sword several islands were reduced to smoking deserts; a considerable portion of the public property was utterly destroyed, and many of the citizens were left without shelter, some even without sustenance. But the Venetians were too thankful for the great success which they had gained, to indulge in sterile regrets, or to give way to effeminate lamentations; and they cheerfully proceeded to restore their buildings and to resume their occupations. Nor did they omit to testify their gratitude to him who had stimulated[1] their exertions on that memorable day, and who might be justly considered the second saviour of his country.

With the fearful exception which has been just recorded, the reign of Pietro Tribuno was pacific and prosperous; and during the ensuing six years this

[1] Sagorninus (*Chronicon*, p. 57); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 197); Blondus of Forli (*De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, pp. 7–8: Verona, 1481).

excellent prince continued to enjoy in tranquillity the high office to which his extraordinary services had lent so much lustre. The death of Tribuno, which occurred in 912, raised in the public mind a profound sensation of grief; and the nation dropped a willing tear over the grave of one so popular and so illustrious.[1] The successor of Tribuno was Orso,[2] the son of a younger brother of the late Doge Badoer the Fifth.

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[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 58). *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 4 (Harl. MSS. 4820). Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 198). Sanudo writes: "Fù Doge pacifico, savio, e benigno."

[2] "Pronomine dictus *Paureta*."—*Dandolo* (viii. 194).

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 912–991.

Badoer VI., Doge (912-32)—Feud with the Marquis of Istria—Sanudo II., Doge (932) — The Brides of Saint Mark — Badoer VII., Doge (939)—General Character of the Badoeri—Sanudo III., Doge (942–59)—Associates his Son Pietro (948)—Excesses and Banishment of the latter—His Recal and Accession (959)—His Reign, Tyranny, and Violent Death (976)—Orseolo I., Doge (976–7)—Sanudo V., Doge (977–8)—Tribuno Memo, Doge (978–91)—Feud between the Republic and Otho II.—Conspiracy of Stefano Caloprini—Deposition of Memo (991).

THE first act of Badoer VI. was the notification to the Eastern Emperor of his elevation to power; and his son Pietro was the person whom he selected to represent the Doge and Republic of Venice. The noble Envoy was received by Constantine IV. with every mark of consideration due to his rank and character; he was created a Protospatarius; and on taking leave of his august host, he was loaded with gifts and compliments. In those days, the shortest and safest route from Constantinople to Rialto was by sea. The passage usually occupied from twenty-five to thirty days.[1] But Pietro, who, in proceeding from Venice to the Chrysoceras, had merely availed

[1] Luitprand (*Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam imperatorem*, A.D. 940. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii. p. 417).

himself of the casual departure of some outward-bound merchantman, was weary of the long voyage and desirous of a change; the novelty and risk of the overland journey excited the love of adventure; and, contrary to the advice of the Greeks, who strongly dissuaded him from traversing an unfrequented and dangerous tract of country, he resolved to return home through Dalmatia. His temerity cost his father dear; he had scarcely accomplished the moiety of his journey, when he was taken in an ambuscade, robbed of his presents, and conducted to the Court of Simeon, King of Bulgaria. To that monarch, who looked on the offer of a profitable exchange as tolerably certain, the capture was particularly acceptable; and the luckless youth was detained a close prisoner in the hands of the barbarian, until the Doge, hearing of his fate, and learning his place of confinement, despatched Domenigo Flabenigo, Archdeacon of Malamocco, with a heavy ransom to purchase his release. Simeon accepted the money; Badoer recovered his liberty; and the vacant see of Malamocco was not considered by a grateful parent too high a recompense for the services of Flabenigo.[1] In 921, the man who thus owed his bishopric to a happy stroke of diplomacy, was sent to Pavia, in conjunction with Stefano Caloprini, to procure from Hugo, King of Italy, the quinquennial

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 58). Dandolo (viii. 198). In vol. i. fol. 70 of the *Chroniche Veneziane*, already cited, it is said that "dopo certo tempo *scampo*, e torno a Venetia."

renewal of the mercantile charter of the Republic; and five years later, they were again jointly accredited to the court of Hugo's successor, Rodolph, from whom they elicited, in addition to the usual immunities and privileges, the valuable promise that, for the future, Venetian money should enjoy a free currency throughout the Peninsula.[1] Bishop Flabenigo afterward embraced the conviction, that a visit of devotion to Jerusalem was a penance, which every Christian ought to perform; and he died in the Holy City. Badoer V. did not long outlive his Minister. In 932, after a reign of twenty years, which had been almost devoid of incident, the Doge, sensible of the approach of death, withdrew into the monastery of San Felice, on the isle of Amiano, where he expired shortly afterward. He was succeeded by Pietro, the son of Sanudo I., who had fallen at Mucole in the service of the Republic. At the time of his father's death in 888, Pietro was still a child,[2] and, in now raising him to the throne, his fellow-citizens dis-

[1] "Declaravit (*Rodulfus*) Ducem Venetiarum potestatem habere fabricandi monetam, quia ei constitit antiquos Duces hoc continuatis temporibus perfecisse."—DANDOLO. This passage is commonly misinterpreted. It was not that the Venetians cared to procure from Rodolph leave to establish a native Mint, which they had certainly possessed during two centuries; but the simple fact was, that they were anxious to obtain a recognition on the part of that prince of their silver and copper currency, in order that there might be no difficulty in passing it in Italy. This is one of the points, which the author of the *Squitinio della Libertà Veneta*, Mirandola, 1612, has delighted to misrepresent. See also Zanetti, *Ragionamento sulla Moneta Veneziana*, p. 3.

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 62). *Lettera di Agostino Gradenigo sulla Famiglia Candiana*, 1760.

charged a debt, which they might feel that they had long owed to the House of Candiano.

The disruption of the fabric of society which followed the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Northern barbarians, had favoured the rise and growth of several petty principalities in Istria and Dalmatia; and among other minor potentates, Wintker, a Slavian chieftain, had assumed the title and usurped the rights of Marquis of Istria. But the inhabitants of that Province soon found their new and self-elected sovereign a savage and capricious despot, to whose rapacious avarice, and arbitrary cruelty, there was neither limit nor control; and the Venetian merchants, who had formed settlements at Justinople and in its neighbourhood, taking advantage of the feeling of disgust, which the conduct of Wintker was diffusing, prevailed on that and several other towns to raise the standard of revolt against the oppressor, and to transfer their allegiance to the Doge Sanudo. The offer was readily made, and not less readily accepted. Justinople became a fief of the Republic; and the protection of the Venetian flag was bought with an annual tribute of eight hundred gallons of wine. The wrath of the Marquis, when he received information of the treaty, concluded without his consent between the Doge and his former liegemen, was unbounded; and he hastened to resort to various vexatious expedients for gratifying his ire. But an edict of non-intercourse with Istria soon constrained him, by the want of certain staple com-

modities, which he was unable to procure from other markets, to accept the clemency of Sanudo. An event of another nature, which was almost contemporaneous with the acquisition of Justinople and other places in fief, afforded that prince an ample opportunity of shewing his courage and self-possession.

It was an antient usage among the Venetians, that every year, on Saint Mary's Eve, twelve poor virgins, endowed by the State, should be united to their lovers, in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle at Olivolo. On this auspicious day (January 31), the parents, friends, and kinsfolk of the betrothed, used to assemble on that island; and from an early hour, barks gaily dressed with flowers and flags, might be seen skimming the canals, bearing the happy couples, their dowers, and marriage presents, to San Pietro. It happened on the anniversary of 939, that the Corsairs of Trieste, who were well acquainted with the annual custom, resolved to profit by the helpless state of the joyful train, and to carry off the Daughters of Saint Mark. With this object in view, a party of the Pirates under the conduct of their chief Gaiolo,[1] a renowned free-booter of that time, concealed themselves, on the eve of the festival, in a portion of the quarter of Olivolo, which, in the tenth century, was wholly uninhabited; and on the following morning, so soon as the solemn procession, followed by a crowd of women and children,

[1] *Cronaca di Marco*, ... *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.

had entered the church, they quitted their hiding-place, crossed the narrow Canal, and leaped ashore. The hymeneal rites had already commenced, and the Brides were about to be given away, when the doors of San Pietro were suddenly burst open, and the place was filled with armed men, who, tearing the terrified maidens from the foot of the altar, lifted them across the sacred threshold, deposited them, almost bereaved of sense, in their barks, and set all sail for the Port of Trieste. Sanudo II., who by virtue of his office was acting on that memorable occasion as the proxy of the Patron Evangelist, regarded this extraordinary interruption with mingled rage and astonishment: it was an act of violence and audacity to which the annals of the Commonwealth afforded no parallel. Reflecting, however, that every moment was precious, he hurried from the building, followed by the injured lovers, and hastening through the streets, summoned the people to arms. In this emergency, a few vessels belonging to the Corporation of Trunk-Makers, who occupied a quarter in the parish of Santa Maria Formosa, were offered to the Chief Magistrate and his companions; and the latter, grasping their oars with that strength which men borrow from despair, were soon lost to sight. The pirates, on their part, were still in the lagoon of Caorlo, when they beheld their pursuers close behind them; and the Venetians, availing themselves of their local knowledge and dexterity, quickly overtook the marauders.[1] The

[1] The creek, where the pirates were overtaken, is still known as the *Porto delle Donzelle.*

contest was long and sanguinary, but the vengeance of the bridegrooms was complete; hardly an Istrian escaped; and the girls, rescued from the rude hands of their ravishers, were led back in triumph to Olivolo, where they endeavoured to forget their fright and alarm in the usual festivities, to which it may be believed that the recent misadventure gave peculiar zest. For a short time it was a practice to array twelve wooden dolls[1] in bridal costume, and to carry them in triumph round the Piazza; and those figures were called by the people, MARIE, in consequence of the occurrence having taken place on the day specially dedicated to Our Lady. But this dumb-show fell into disuse; and for the images was then substituted a solemn procession[2] of twelve young virgins, who, attended by the Doge and the clergy, paid a visit of ceremony to the parish of Santa Maria Formosa, where they received a hospitable welcome from the Trunk-Makers. The tradition is, that when the latter waited on the Doge after the event, and solicited his Serenity to originate the *Andata*, Sanudo good-humouredly remarked: *And what, if it should rain?* The Trunk-Makers made reply: "We will give you hats to cover your heads, and if you are thirsty, we will give you drink." In commemoration of this circumstance, the Doge was presented on each

[1] "*Fecerunt construi ymagines formosas duodecim.*"—Cronica di Marco . . . . . *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. 266. See also Morelli (*Delle Solennità e Pompe Nuziali presso li Veneziani*; Ven. 1793).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 461); Mutinelli (*Annali Urbani di Venezia*, p. 23). Ferrucci's novel is founded on this subject.

succeeding occasion with two bottles of Malmsey, two oranges, and two hats, on one of which were his own armorial bearings, on the other those of the reigning pontiff. A writer of the thirteenth century relates, that in his time the brides of Venice were accustomed to wear gold crowns set with precious stones, and cloaks of cloth of gold,[1] and that all the guests were liberally regaled with wine and sweetmeats.

In 1379, however, arose the War of Chioggia, and the expenses and sacrifices attendant upon that terrible struggle increased the national burdens to such an extent, that the celebration of the *Feste Delle Marie* was almost necessarily suspended. The temporary discontinuance of the festival led somewhat unexpectedly to its entire abolition. There is reason to believe that when the moment came for canvassing the question of renewing the Andata, the costliness of the pageant, which opened a far larger source of outlay than had been contemplated by the originators of the custom,[2] added to the licentious character which it had insensibly acquired, had a joint share in influencing the government of the Republic, when the latter opposed the revival of a time-honoured usage.[3]

Toward the close of this reign, some Venetian vessels, which were trading in the port of Commacchio, having

[1] Da Canale, sect. 245. [2] Sansovino (lib. xii. p. 494).

[3] A Latin poem on the *Feste Delle Marie* was written in the reign of Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) by Pace del Friuli, professor of logic in the University of Padua, and it was dedicated by the author to the Doge.

been detained by the treachery or caprice of the inhabitants, Sanudo determined to demand restitution in person, and he accordingly appeared before that place with a fleet of armed galleys. The vessels were speedily recovered; a considerable portion of the town was destroyed; and not only were those found to be implicated in the outrage, put to death, but the sons of the principal citizens were selected by the Doge to be kept as hostages, until their parents should agree to renounce their independence, and to recognize the sovereignty of Venice. The Commacchese did not shew much hesitation in taking that course; a deputation was soon afterward despatched to redeem the security; and thus Commacchio actually became a Venetian fief, sixty years after her nominal annexation to the Republic by Badoer V.

Sanudo II. was replaced, in 939, by Pietro Badoer, the only son of Badoer VI., and in his earlier years a prisoner in the hands of the King of Bulgaria. The reign of Pietro Badoer was brief and obscure: he was

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Bernardo Giorgio or Zorzi (1547) has the following lines on the subject:—

"Cur nam Febrarii Formosæ ad Templa Calendis
Nullo non anno Duxque Senatus eant?
Si causam nescis, paucis (adverte) dicebo:
Abstulerat nostras ex prædo Tergeste puellas,
Exemplo vellent eum remeare domum,
Per mare Signorum Fabri, hos ex urbe secuti,
Devictos omnes pæne dedere neci.
Unde Senatores, gavisi cæde latronum,
Nuptarum reduci virginitate simul,
Munere pro tanto statuerunt Festa Mariæ
Annua: jure illo concelebranda dies!" (*Epit. Princ. Venet.*)

the last of his illustrious race, who ascended the throne of Venice.

One hundred and thirty-three years had elapsed since the Ducal crown was accorded to Angelo, the first of the line, as a tribute of public gratitude for his services at Albiola; and during the greater part of that period, his descendants (seven in number) had held, for and by the people, an authority not less absolute, so long as it lasted, than that of the English royal Houses of Plantagenet and Tudor. Yet while they were sometimes driven by force of will, or in moments of phrenzy, to commit acts of an arbitrary and unwarrantable nature, they exercised their authority, for the most part, with wise forbearance and rare tact, and under their rule, Venice enjoyed, almost without interruption, the precious blessing of domestic tranquillity. Among those princes a powerful and striking resemblance is discernible. Their minds were of a nearly similar texture. Their characters were cast in a nearly similar mould. We observe the same gifted understanding, swayed by the same ungovernable choler; the same irritable, impetuous and headstrong temper; the same freedom from meanness and profligacy; the same keen sensitiveness to insult, and fierce impatience of control. In their calm moments, few men acted with more judgment than the Badoeri; few wandered farther from the path of reason, when they fell under the hallucination of some strange impulse, or of some ruling passion. In short, the Doges of the House of Badoer were of a proud,

vehement, and irascible temper; but brave, just, and virtuous; of a disposition, ardent, yet not licentious, vindictive, yet not cruel; devout and punctilious in the offices of religion; in the exercise of power, moderate, but arbitrary. With all the faults, however, which they had in common with other men of a noble nature, the Badoeri, by their high sense of honour, by their spotless integrity, by their unselfish patriotism, by their watchfulness over the glory and advantage of their country, and, at last, by their long public services, won the hearts of the Venetians; and in a State, where so much stress was laid on nobility of birth, the people were always disposed to eye with indulgence the conduct of a magistrate, whose progenitors were Tribunes of Rialto in the time of Theodoric the Goth.

In 942, Pietro, the son of Sanudo II.[1] was elected in the room of Badoer VII.

In 948, the notice of the Venetians was attracted by the succession of Berenger II. to the throne of Italy. That change bred a natural solicitude in the mind of Sanudo and the Republic, to procure the customary recognition of the mercantile charter; and the new Emperor, who received the Venetian deputies at Pavia, not only granted their request to that effect, but expressed himself prepared to reduce the import duty on Venetian goods, from one-tenth to one-fortieth part of the whole value, provided that their countrymen should agree to protect

[1] *Lettera di A. Gradenigo sulla Famiglia Candiana*, 1760.

the maritime frontier of the empire with a naval force from the constant incursions of the Dalmatian Pirates. This liberal and tempting offer was accepted without demur by Sanudo and the Popular Assembly; and in 949, a squadron of thirty-four *Gombarie*, under the joint command of Orso Badoer and Pietro Orseolo,[1] was consequently ordered to cruise along the coast between the Lagoon and the city of Ragusa. Nothing of consequence, however, was done till the following year, when the Narentines, having ventured on a regular engagement, were forced by a total rout to sue for peace. The advantage was followed by the humiliation of Lupo, Patriarch of Aquileia, who had presumed to trespass on the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Venice over the provincial dioceses situated in Istria; and the simple expedient, which had recently produced so instantaneous an effect on the Marquis Wintker, was applied, in this instance, with an equally felicitous result.

By his wife Archielda, Sanudo III. had four sons. Domenigo, the eldest, already enjoyed the see of Torcello;[2] Vitali *Ugone* had married Imilia, who brought her husband the countships of Padua and Vicenza. The remaining two were named Pietro and Vitali, the latter of whom was still a youth. Pietro, however, had reached years of manhood; and in 948, his father

[1] Sagorninus (p. 68); *Historia del governo politico di Venezia*, p. 58 (Egerton MSS. 18,174); Dandolo (viii. 204).

[2] Lettera di Dorasio (*Agostino Gradenigo*) al Chiarissimo Signor Abate Giovanni Brunacci sulla Famiglia Candiana, 1760; Litta (*Celebre Famiglie Ital. sub voce Candiano*).

admitted him with proud satisfaction to a share in the government. But Sanudo IV. had only dissembled his vices without regret, in the hope of indulging them afterward without control. The sorrow and anguish of the Doge were great, when he tardily detected evil propensities in one, to whom he was so tenderly attached, and whom he was naturally led to regard as his successor. The weight of declining years compelled him, in his lifetime, to choose a colleague who might relieve him of a portion of the onerous functions of his office; love, as well as ambition, prompted him to seek that colleague in his son; and the latter soon rendered himself odious to every class of the community by his depravity. Dreaded or despised by all upright citizens, the new Doge was obliged to select his associates among those, who could lose nothing, and might gain much, by such a high though infamous connexion; from men of inferior rank and congenial humour, Sanudo received ready connivance and servile applause in any act of violence which he might choose to perpetrate; and under such a leader, his dissolute companions plunged into every species of extravagance, which promised to gratify their passions or caprice. The citizens were robbed and oppressed; their wives and daughters were dishonoured; the happiness of families was sacrificed; places, which had been the usual resort of persons of grave and modest comportment, were metamorphosed into scenes of riot, turmoil, and bloodshed; and every institution which civilized communities hold most dear, was treated

with insulting levity by a lawless and profligate faction.[1] But the Venetians could not behold without deep emotion the revival after the lapse of a century and a half of that shameless libertinism, which had branded with so much infamy the reign of the Second and Third Galbaio: as these outrages grew more frequent in occurrence, and more serious in character, the murmurs of the sufferers became more distinct, their animadversions more loud; the most sluggish began to complain; the most timorous ventured to expostulate; and men of ordinary prudence would have profited by the portent, so clearly conveyed in these premonitory symptoms of popular discontent. Yet, such was the infatuation of Sanudo, that he derided the warning, and persisted in the same line of conduct until the Arrengo, arriving with that slowness common to all large deliberative bodies, at the conclusion, that these gross and indecent excesses reflected gravely on the national honour, determined to endure no longer an evil, which they had endured already too long. The reprobate was consequently taken, arraigned, and convicted; and the flagitious nature of the charges, which were preferred against him, seemed to be inexpiable by any milder punishment than death itself. The tears and intreaties of the venerable Doge, however, who, in the first burst of indignation, had stoically resolved not to shield the guilty from justice, but whose courage failed him at the last moment, saved his son

[1] Marin (ii. pp. 155–6).

and the name of Sanudo from the unparalleled ignominy of a public execution.[1] Not unmoved by the spectacle of a father pleading for his child, and taking into merciful consideration the meritorious services of the elder Sanudo, the Popular Assembly consented for his sake to modify their verdict; and the harsher sentence was accordingly commuted for one of perpetual banishment.[2] Ravenna was the spot, which was chosen as the place of retirement; and as a judicious indulgence, he was allowed to select from the friends of his youth the companions of his exile. But the attractions of an idle and sedentary life soon palled; and, after a brief stay at Ravenna, Sanudo joined the standard of Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, who was waging, at that conjuncture, a war against Theobald, Marquis of Spoleto. In a calling, where his talents were more conspicuous than his vices, the Venetian prince displayed merit, and might have attained distinction, had he not quickly forsaken the honourable profession of a soldier for the more congenial trade of a Pirate. With six vessels, the fruit of Ravennese jealousy, Sanudo sailed so far as Primiero, where he secured seven Venetian merchantmen, bound for Fano, on the coast of Urbino; the prizes were led back in triumph to Ravenna, where the buccaneer was able to

[1] Nevertheless, two scions of that family had narrowly escaped the scaffold, in 864, for the part which they took in the murder of the Doge Pietro Tradenigo.

[2] "Deinde omnes Episcopi, Clerus, et Populus, *unanimiter juraverunt, quod nunquam nec in vitâ nec post obitum Patris eum Ducem haberent.*"—*Dandolo*, 205.

exult in his infamous behaviour toward a country, which had used him too gently; and the search of Marco Zeno, whom the Doge had despatched in quest of the missing vessels with thirteen galleys, was entirely unavailing.[1] The general feeling and belief were, however, that the younger Sanudo was the author of the outrage; and when this conjecture was verified, his venerable parent, bowed down by years, and broken-hearted, was driven, under the galling sense of humiliation and disgrace, to tender his abdication to the people. The ex-Doge, who had once hoped to close his eyes on a prouder spectacle, survived his retirement only two months and a half;[2] he sank into the grave beneath the weight of so much sorrow and so much shame (959).

The name of Sanudo III. was respectable. The family, to which he belonged, was in the zenith of its power; and while the offer of the vacant magistracy to the representative of some other line threatened to rekindle the War of the Factions, the decree which forbade the return of the younger Sanudo, precluded his election. Thus the Arrengo found itself wavering between a desire to maintain the inviolability of its oath,[3] and a reluctance to rouse the vindictive resentment of the powerful family of Sanudo: the eventual annulment of the edict and recal of the exile shewed the great influence of that House, while it betrayed the aristocratic tendencies of

[1] Vianoli (lib. iv. p. 126). [2] Dandolo (viii. 205).
[3] *Vide suprâ.*

that Assembly. Scarcely had his father resigned the insignia of power when a flotilla of barks, gaily decorated with flags, conveyed a deputation of the nobles and clergy of Venice to Ravenna, where the Pirate and Proscript of yesterday was saluted with the title of Doge, and escorted with every manifestation of pomp and amid transports of enthusiasm to the Palace, in which he received at the hands of the people the Ducal crown and the Sceptre of Ivory.

The bell at the Campanile was soon heard to peal in honour of the accession of a new Doge; the churches in like manner celebrated the occasion; it was a day of bustle and rejoicing in Venice, and one old man, who lay bedridden in the street of San Severo, not far from the Palace, in a house which his family had occupied through many generations, turned feebly on his pillow to listen to the sounds which proclaimed the national perjury. Too much reason had the dying Doge to predict that the Venetians had sacrificed in vain their honour to a love of peace and a dread of the revival of civil dissension, and that the baseness and ingratitude of his son would prove his recal to be not only an unprincipled measure but a futile pageant.

This period is remarkable for three acts of Parliament which passed the Popular Assembly shortly after the accession of Sanudo IV. The first was declaratory of the law of 878, touching the barter of Christian slaves; and the merchants of Venice were once more debarred, under the heaviest penal-

ties,[1] from trafficking in such slaves, or from lending their vessels, or advancing money for such purpose to dealers, especially Greeks and Jews.[2] The second, which was a revival of the penal statute of 827, interdicted all commercial intercourse between the Republic and the Chiefs of the Saracens, who were engaged at that period in a sanguinary war with the Greeks.[3] The third abolished the old system under which the citizens of the Lagoon constituted themselves the carriers of the despatches from the German and Italian Courts to Constantinople and the East. This carrying trade, which had hitherto formed a regular and somewhat lucrative branch of Venetian commerce, was, at the present time, the sole available channel of communication between the Greek Emperor Romanus, and Otho, Emperor of Germany; and it appears that Berenger II., whose power was still paramount in the Peninsula, having urged the Republic to discontinue that portion of the service which promoted the intrigues of his rival, the Islanders, unwilling to displease Berenger, or to compromise themselves with Otho, adopted the more prudent and indeed the more dignified course of relinquishing the charge altogether. The act which related to the slave trade originated in the Synod, and the revival of the penal statute of 878

[1] Varying, according to the atrocity of the offence, or the rank of the offender, between a fine of five pounds (*lire picciole*) of gold, the amputation of a limb, and decapitation.

[2] Filiasi (*Memorie*, vi. p. 186); ibid. (*Ricerche*, 109); Marin (ii. p. 162).

[3] Filiasi (*Saggio sul Antico Commercio dei Veneziani*, p. 29).

against the detestable traffic, was in a large measure due to the humane exertions of the clergy. It is also to be observed that the second ordinance, which had reference to the transactions of the same class with the Mohammedans, was promulgated only, after much demur, at the earnest request of the Byzantine Court, which bitterly complained that a Power, outwardly professing to be its cordial ally, was secretly affording to the enemies of the Faith the means of conducting with vigour a course of hostilities which was crippling and impoverishing the empire.

In 964, five years after the death of Sanudo III., the contest for the Iron Crown of Lombardy, which had lasted without intermission since the fall of Charles le Gros in 888, was brought to a happy conclusion; and the voice of a nation, enfeebled by war, summoned Otho, Emperor of Germany, to govern the dominions of Pepin the Little. This important revolution did not escape the notice of the Venetians, who lost no time in procuring, at the hands of the new Emperor of the West, the recognition of the charter, which they had obtained from Berenger II., in 948; and Otho was still at Rome, where he had just received the golden diadem from the Pontiff, when Pietro Orseolo and Vitali Sanudo (the brother of the Doge) arrived at that city, and in the name of the chief magistrate of the Venetians prayed him to renew the commercial privileges which their Commune had enjoyed in the Peninsula since the days of King Alboin. The haughty and arrogant German, glancing with an

eye half indifferent, half contemptuous, at the lofty pretensions of the Republic to a place among the independent States of Europe,[1] received the ambassadors of Sanudo IV. with chilling and punctilious formality; and, while he affixed his signature and seal to their antient charter,[2] the remark was heard to drop from him, that it was fortunate for Venice that she was too insignificant to attract his notice, or to reward his ambition. Nor perhaps in the expression of such a sentiment was the son of Henry the Fowler otherwise than sincere.

The foreign policy of Sanudo IV. presented a favourable contrast to his domestic government. The Republic was led at first to hope, that her Prince had abjured the follies of his younger days, and that in the Doge of Venice she had lost the Pirate of Ravenna and the Bravo, whose wild frolics and odious excesses were once the terror of the Rialto; and certainly the studied moderation of Pietro, during the earlier years of his reign, might have led to a conclusion, that he was striving by his reformed conduct to obliterate the memory of passed misdeeds. But this conclusion was sadly fallacious; the mask, which the Doge had chosen from politic motives to assume on his accession, was

[1] Denina (*Revol. d'Italia*, ii. p. 69).

[2] It appears also that, a short time afterward, the system established by Lothar in 840, of renewing this charter every fifth year, which had gradually fallen into disuse, revived. *See* Sandi (i. p. 324), and Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 414), who quotes the names of the ambassadors from the *Chronica Contarini*. Some authors give, instead of Orseolo and Sanudo, Giovanni Contarini, and Giovanni Veniero. But this is probably a mistake.

flung aside at the first opportunity; and the Venetians were soon forced to wish, that the voice, which so lately pleaded for the life of a monster, had pleaded in vain.

Domenigo Sanudo,[1] Bishop of Torcello, and the elder brother of his Serenity, having died in 964-5, the Synod chose, as his successor, Matteo Giagi.[2] The Doge, however, with whom the final decision rested in such matters, expressed a dissent, and conferred the vacant surplice on his own son Vitali. But this mere legitimate exercise of the Ducal prerogative, which might have satisfied an ordinary mind, did not satisfy Pietro, who caused the unfortunate Giagi to be seized, deprived of sight, and removed from the public eye by death or imprisonment. The only symptoms of popular displeasure, which branded so atrocious an outrage, were low murmurs and timid reproaches; and when the patriarchal see of Grado fell vacant, in 969,[3] by the death of Vitali Barbolano, the Bishop of Torcello was elevated to the primacy without opposition, and the crozier was given to one Giovanni Orio.

Shortly afterward the Doge repudiated, on the pretence of incompatibility,[4] his consort Giovanna, and, having immured her in the abbey of San Zaccaria, obtained in marriage Gualdrada, the sister of his old patron Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, with whom he

[1] He was the eldest son of the late Sanudo III.

[2] Vianoli (*Historia Veneta*, lib. iv. p. 130).

[3] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 209).

[4] Sabellico (lib. iii. p. 69). Dandolo (viii. 209) merely says, "Fictâ occasione dimisit, et Monachalem vestem suscipere coegit."

received on the day of their espousals a portion of 400 pounds of silver, and certain estates in Oderzo, Ferrara, Treviso, and Adria.[1] This alliance deserved to be considered the most notable event in an eventful career: it was the point, on which the destiny of Pietro turned. The Doge was not one of those few who are so happily constituted as to bear with equanimity and grace the gifts of fortune. By his union with the Tuscan heiress, he became the master of an ample revenue and of a numerous body of serfs and retainers; and having thus attained a favourite object, he determined to indulge to the fullest extent a secret love of grandeur and shew. It was not long before the people witnessed the introduction of an order of things strangely contrasting with that simplicity, which the members of a Free Republic still prized as the distinctive mark of their particular form of government; Saint Mark's soon afforded the novel spectacle of a Ducal Court; the courtiers, the serfs or satellites of Sanudo, borrowed their costume, their manners, their behaviour, from the sycophants who kneeled at the feet of the Greek and German autocrats; and this display of regal pomp, which in the abstract might have been not unpleasing to the popular eye, was accompanied by a despotism, more absolute than that of the House of Badoer, more terrible than the despotism of the two Galbaii. Yet the heart of a nation was not easily probed to the core, or its pride stung to the quick; the Venetians,

[1] Sandi (i. p. 324); Romanin (i. p. 249).

from the nature of their constitution, were singularly phlegmatic under oppression; and not only did they tolerate during some time without much perceptible emotion the tyrannical conduct of their sovereign, but they suffered the Excusati, who had now been, during 270 years, the Guards and Domestic Ministers of the chief magistrate, to be supplanted by a mercenary Corps, which his Serenity had partly raised on his new estates, and partly in Tuscany. The enlistment of aliens in the Venetian service was an unparalleled proceeding; and although there was no provisional clause in the Coronation Oath, which pronounced such a course unconstitutional, the admission of foreign troops into the capital, without the consent of the Arrengo, was generally considered an arbitrary stretch of the Ducal prerogative, no less than a flagrant insult to the nation. Some, however, who were secretly inclined to view that extraordinary step as a measure of precaution, dictated by a growing distrust of the goodwill and affection of his subjects, while they shared the general disgust at the dismissal of the Old Guard, derived consolation from the thought, that it might be the forerunner of a great and favourable change.

That change, indeed, was much nearer at hand than the most sanguine might have ventured to prophesy. A few years after the second nuptials of Sanudo, the Ferrarese, having made an incursion on that part of his Estates which lay in the vicinity of their town, the Doge sent a strong Venetian force up the Po to vindi-

cate his rights; the aggression was speedily repulsed; the aggressors were severely chastised; the citadel of Ferrara was taken and destroyed; the environs were laid waste; and a second attempt of a similar character in another quarter was followed by the dismantlement of Oderzo. On the part of the Venetians, the attendant losses were trifling; and in ordinary times the circumstances of the expedition might have been gradually effaced from the recollection of the people. But such was now the distempered state of the public mind, that the slightest irritation sufficed to goad it to madness; and even to spill a single drop of their blood in a private and unpopular cause was what the nation could no longer endure. The scene which ensued, was that identical scene of tumult and anarchy which had already more than once prognosticated a violent revolution in the government. Again, after the lapse of two centuries, a rampant multitude, maddened to phrenzy by a long course of oppression, was seen to assemble on the Square of Saint Mark, clamouring for vengeance, and thirsting for blood; and once more a cowardly tyrant, awakening only at the last hour to a full sense of his folly and his danger, was seen to quail before a people, whose highest privileges he had dared to set at nought. Sanudo was, perhaps, hardly aware of the full extent to which he had weakened his authority by the recent disembodiment of the Excusati del Ducato. In offending the latter, he incurred the enmity not merely of a military corps, but of a Vested Interest. In those days, when a considerable space

was still left open to the labours of the husbandman, the class which principally contributed to the Ducal Bodyguard was the small proprietors of Spinalunga (the antient Guidecca), Dorsoduro, Murano, San Nicolo, and Poveja; and their influence, which he might have formerly commanded, was now thrown into the scale against him at a moment when he was peculiarly in want of support.

Yet, as the Doge glanced from a casement of his palace at the crowded space below, he might almost have imagined that after all his fears were about to be falsified. The insurgents, doubtful how to act, though appearing to be inwardly bent on achieving some great end, had already dispersed in groups to debate what course it was best to pursue, or to listen to the views of some favourite orator on the point in agitation. Even should they persist in their original intention, and ultimately have recourse to extreme measures, there still hardly appeared to be any valid ground for apprehension. On the sworn fidelity, steady discipline, and intrepid courage of the Mercenaries, who were well aware that his cause was their cause, and that his fate would be their fate, Sanudo felt that he might safely place implicit reliance; and in such hands so solid a structure as Saint Mark's was assuredly capable of offering a long resistance to the vague and ill-directed efforts of a *mob*. But, on closer observation, the hope vanished and the fear returned; a movement, in which the noblest of the citizens seemed not ashamed to join—to which those,

who held the largest stake in the welfare of their country, were found willing to lend their countenance and aid—was not long to be misconstrued; and, although the repeated attempts of the people to gain an entrance into the Palace might have proved themselves ineffectual, it soon became manifest that measures of a more stringent nature were contemplated. In fact, at the suggestion of one of the leaders of the Popular movement, the rest, perceiving that open violence was of no avail, determined to procure the submission of the Doge by other means; and with this view, orders were given to set fire[1] to the buildings which lay in the immediate vicinity of the Palace. The conflagration spread with a rapidity which was calculated to appal the incendiaries themselves. Clouds of thick and igneous vapour soon darkened and impregnated the atmosphere. The churches of Santa Maria and San Teodoro were reduced to ashes. In the course of a few hours, the flames touched with their blighting tongue the chapel of Saint Mark, which adjoined the Ducal residence, and broken columns of smoke, driven by gusts of wind against the casements of the latter building, diffused a panic terror among the unfortunate inmates, whose destiny seemed to consign them, as a living hecatomb, to the voracious element. Amid the horror and confusion of such a scene, Sanudo, bearing the babe[2] which he had by Gualdrada

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 69).

[2] Lettera di Agostino Gradenigo sulla Famiglia Candiana; Venetiis, 1760, 8°.

in his arms, was suddenly seen to rush out of Saint Mark's chapel, through which there was a communication with the palace, to crouch before a group, in which he recognised a few of his friends and relatives, and to implore their compassion, promising to redress every grievance, to undo every act of injustice.[1] But it was too late. The moment had now arrived, when submission was no longer of use; when the expression of regret for his passed conduct tended, by bringing that conduct more vividly before the minds of the sufferers, to exasperate, rather than to mollify; and when those, whom he had once known, and on whose support he might once have counted, had become deaf to his cry for mercy. The multitude, if they hated the despot, both hated and despised the suppliant; and while the general voice upbraided him with his crimes and excesses, a few of the bystanders, more resolute or more impatient than the rest, plunged their daggers into his bosom. The little child, whose innocence might have moved the people to compassion, was the partner of its parent's fate, since it might be the heir to his vices; and it was not till the tempest had subsided, that one Giovanni Gradenigo[2] ventured to claim for the corpses the rites of decent interment.

This abrupt and violent termination of the odious career of Sanudo IV. was not calculated to create

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 70).

[2] Giustiniani: *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 31 (King's MSS. 148); and Mutinelli (*A. U.* pp. 26–7).

a feeling of surprise; the only ground for wonder seemed to be that the nation should have borne so long a yoke which it could break so easily, and that the elective magistrate of a State, which was styled a free commonwealth, should have been suffered, during the greater part of seventeen years, to exercise, under the thin mask of liberty and equality, a power hardly less unfettered than that which was held, at that period, by the descendants of Constantine and Charlemagne. The terrible excesses, however, of the Tribunitial Oligarchy, the ferocious despotism of Monegaro, Catanio, and Fabriciaco, the tyrannical sway of Galbaio II. and Maurizio his son, and, lastly, the autocratic, though mostly beneficent, rule of the House of Badoer during a period of seventy-four years, are exemplifications of merely one doctrine; and the long reign of Sanudo IV., which might otherwise seem to impugn the candour or accuracy of historical records, formed, in reality, only another clue to the tendency of the government, and another satire on the character of the people.[1]

The death of Sanudo glutted the vengeance and assuaged the passion of the multitude; and the Venetians had now leisure to perceive[2] that three hundred houses, that the churches of San Teodoro and Santa Maria Jubenigo, and that the ducal residence and

[1] This episode of Venetian History has been twice dramatized: 1. Pietro Candiano IV., Dramma lirico in due atti; Ven. 1841, 8°. 2. Pietro Candiano IV., Doge di Venezia, Tragedia; Milano, 1846, 8°.

[2] Morosini (lib. iii. p. 77); Filiasi (vi. p. 204); Marin (ii. p. 170).

chapel, were perfectly destroyed. It was while a few were still lingering over this distressing scene, that a large concourse of persons assembled in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle at Olivolo, and nominated Pietro Orseolo[1] chief magistrate of the Republic (12th August, 976).

The new Doge Orseolo, who has been already seen officiating in a diplomatic capacity as the ambassador of the Republic at the Court of Otho I. in 964, and who was now in his forty-eighth year,[2] and in extremely affluent circumstances, belonged to an antient Roman family of some consideration, who had left their native city of Altinum in the time of Attila, and had settled at Torcello; and although their descendant had no claim to a place in the first order of the aristocracy, he enjoyed to the fullest extent that social pre-eminence to which his large fortune and his amiable character entitled him.

A law, which seems to have been directed in part against the foreign mercenaries whom Sanudo IV. introduced into the Ducal residence, in part against the excesses to which the popular tumult of August had given rise, and which may be observed to have been somewhat analogous to one which found its way at a later date into the English statute book, passed at the commencement of the new reign. It enacted that all persons who should be convicted

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 71); Giustiniani (*Chronica di Venetia*, p. 6); *Historia di Venetia*, p. 3 (Harl. MSS. 4820).

[2] Dandolo (viii. 212).

henceforth of creating disturbances in the palace, or conniving at such disturbances; or, secondly, of directing or aiding any movement, seditious or otherwise, which might have the object or effect of bringing damage to that building, should be held liable to the heaviest penalties. The new measure was designed as a precaution against a recurrence of the catastrophe to which its preamble referred. The opponents of Orseolo, who not only spoke of him as a leading and interested participator in the revolution of 976, but branded him as the sole instigator of the atrocious conflagration, thought themselves perhaps in a position to afford a reason why this measure was not allowed to operate retrospectively.

The magnitude of the evil for which the law of Orseolo was intended to provide some sort of remedy, was, in the estimation of the Venetians of that day, hardly to be overrated. In a city composed of wooden buildings, and where the liability to destruction by fire was consequently extreme, a simple act of incendiarism, committed in one of the leading thoroughfares, was one of the blackest offences of which a person could be guilty; and how much more heinous and capital became the crime when the match of the incendiary aimed at reaching the principal edifice in the metropolis, a structure on the architectural embellishments and interior decoration of which more than one private fortune had been expended, which had been slowly brought to its present aspect of comparative mag-

nificence by the intermittent labours of fifty years, and which many young men, eye-witnesses of the recent crisis, might despair of seeing restored in their time.

The question which next engaged the attention of Orseolo was the restoration of the buildings which had perished in the conflagration. Among others, the loss of Saint Mark's itself was the least easily repaired; and the Doge, reluctant, under the circumstances, to aggravate the public distress by calling on the popular assembly to furnish the necessary funds, determined with equal piety and patriotism to rebuild the Basilica at his own expense. A curious legend is extant that, while it was still a question to whom the commission should be given, an unknown person, of singular appearance and lame in both legs, presented himself, and offered to render Saint Mark's the most picturesque and beautiful edifice imaginable, upon the understanding that, on its completion, his statue in marble should be placed in the most conspicuous part of the building. The Doge, who might well smile at the whimsical request of the cripple, acceded, it is said, to the stipulation; and, for awhile, the work progressed favourably enough; but it seems that the stranger confessed to Orseolo, one day, his inability to complete the contract, and that, consequently, he lost his statue. The new Basilica was ultimately built in the Byzantine style of architecture, after a design by a Greek, who came for that special purpose from Constantinople; the details

of the execution were superintended by Francesco Gradenigo, who had then lately succeeded Luca Talenti in the high office of Primicerio of Saint Mark; and so soon as the work was sufficiently advanced toward completion, the pious Doge placed in the sanctuary an altar of gold, which he had caused to be manufactured in the capital of the East. It was to be anticipated, however, that a considerable length of time might elapse before the new palace was prepared for reception; and Orseolo procured leave, for the present at least, to transfer the Ducal insignia to his own house in the street of San Filippo e Giacomo, and there to transact the business of the State.[1]

While these events were passing at Venice, Gualdrada, having succeeded in escaping the popular vengeance during the insurrection, had joined Adelaide, the consort of the late Emperor Otho I., and empress regent, at Verona; and, at the same time, the Patriarch of Grado, exasperated beyond measure at the elevation of a man, on whose head rested, in his opinion, the blood of a murdered parent, had quitted his see and his country,[2] in order to expose, in the council halls of Magdeburg and Metz, the turpitude of the Venetians, and to seek in the new Emperor, Otho II., a vindicator of the wrongs of the

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 71); *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 6 (Harl. MSS. 4820); *Chronicha delle tutte le Casade del nobil citta di Venezia*, p. 214 (King's MSS. No. 150); P. Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 31 (King's MSS. 148); Giacomo Caroldo (*Historie Venete*, p. 35). The last-named work is also among the King's MSS. No. 147.

[2] "Quorumdam Veneticorum consilio," writes Sagorninus, *ubi suprâ*.

House of Sanudo. But the Doge and his fellow-citizens, not ignorant of the feeling of friendship and sympathy[1] which existed between the Sanudi and the Hohenstaufen, and aware that, with his crown, Otho had inherited the sentiments, which the first of his name entertained toward the Republic, were perfectly sensible of the pernicious consequences which might accrue if they allowed the Patriarch time to extend his intrigues to the Court of Verona, and to enlist in his cause the Empress as well as her son; and it was therefore determined, during Vitali's absence in Germany, to counteract his probable success in that quarter, by removing, to some extent at least, the injurious impression of recent events. Accordingly, a few months after his accession, Orseolo furnished Domenigo Grimani[2] with instructions to proceed to Verona, to ascertain the temper and views of the Court of Adelaide, and to endeavour to pacify Gualdrada by the offer of a liberal indemnity for the losses, which she had sustained by the sudden death of her late husband. The character of Grimani's mission was sufficiently simple; yet its execution was attended by no common difficulty. For, although Gualdrada herself was inclined to be reasonable in her demands, the Empress, who pointed to the ruined walls of Oderzo and Ferrara, seemed disposed to insist, as a preliminary step, on the full reparation of the damage which the Venetian troops had inflicted

[1] Filiasi (vi. 214).

[2] Gio. Giacomo Caroldo, *Historie Venete*, p. 37 (Harl. MSS. 5020).

on those parts of the imperial dominions in the time of Sanudo IV. More moderate counsels, however, prevailed in the end; the tact or importunacy of Grimani induced Adelaide to waive her exorbitant claim; and so soon as the four hundred pounds of silver, which Sanudo had received on the day of his union with the sister of Hugo, had been returned to the widowed Dogaressa, the Empress consented to join with the latter in a solemn declaration, that the Republic should receive no prejudice whatever from passed occurrences, and that any subject of the empire who molested Venetian merchants in the pursuit of their calling, should be punishable. Still the amount of the *pacification* was considerable; the Fisc was almost empty; and the burgesses of Equilo, Caorlo, and Malamocco, refused to discharge the arrears of their tithes. The money, however, was ultimately raised, by forcible means; a solemn deed was executed, in the presence of witnesses, and signed by Gualdrada herself, Gotfried, Chancellor and Commissary of the Empire, and the Imperial Advocate and Procurator Eldebert, on the one hand, and by the Ambassador Grimani on the other; by which the ex-Dogaressa renounced, on the specified conditions, all title to the real property which she had brought in dower to her consort, the late Doge;[1] and the cause of disagreement was thus effectually removed. It may, perhaps, seem strange,

[1] This document was entitled, *Quietatio Dominæ Valdradæ olim Ducisse, Consortis Petri Candiani IV. Ducis Pietro Urseolo I. Duci et successoribus.*—See *Marin* (ii. 175).

that the only measure which was capable, at that juncture, of saving the liberty and honour of the Republic, was on the verge of exciting a powerful insurrection, and that, in collecting the overdue contributions of a large portion of the population, it was necessary to employ open violence. But it is infinitely more strange, that such a primeval system of taxation should have lasted through five centuries and a half, and that the Venetians should have so long neglected to organize some public and regular fund, which might, at all times, be fully adequate to the wants of a free and rising State.

In the course of the same year (977) the treaty of 932 between the Republic and the town of Capo d'Istria (or Justinople), which had been lost with many other valuable archives in the late Fire, was formally renewed, and acknowledged by the Duke of Benevento,[1] who had taken advantage of the recent troubles to seduce the Venetian fief from her allegiance.

It was shortly after the recovery of Justinople, that a stranger landed at the Piazzetta, and sought an interview with the Doge (September, 977). He announced himself as Brother Guarini, Superior of the Abbey of Saint Michael of Cusano, in Gascony, who was on his return from Rome, and was animated by a pious curiosity to inspect the new temple and shrine of the Patron Evangelist.[2] Orseolo

[1] Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 213).

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 72).

received his holy guest with marked distinction; and, during the brief sojourn of the abbot in the Venetian capital, the intercourse of those two congenial spirits ripened into intimacy. The conversation naturally turned on the goodness of the Maker, the reward of virtue, and the vanity of human ambition.[1] The monk talked with captivating fluency: the Doge listened with entrancement to the words which fell from the man of God. A discourse grew into a controversy; the controversy subsided into a lecture; and, in the course of a few days, Orseolo was fully persuaded that a monastic life afforded the greatest facilities to pensive minds, and the nearest approach to the perfection of sublunar happiness. Guarini was even in favour of an instant renunciation of the world and its paltry grandeur; but, whatever may have been the strength of his convictions, or the force of his enthusiasm, the Doge calculated that a certain time was absolutely necessary to arrange his private affairs, and otherwise to prepare himself for his new mode of life. Orseolo asked, for this purpose, the delay of a twelvemonth. On the expiration of that term, the abbot of Saint Michael was invited to return to Venice, and to claim his illustrious proselyte.

Meanwhile, the Doge continued to discharge his duties with unremitting zeal; his design of relinquishing the cares of government, and of spending his declining years in the tranquil seclusion of a French

[1] Sagorn. 73. This writer was an ironmaster of Venice, living in the latter half of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century.

convent, remained a close secret; and the people at large were wholly ignorant of the powerful effect which the mysterious stranger had exercised on the mind of their Prince. Distrustful of female discretion, Pietro determined not to unfold his intention even to his wife Felicita (Malipiero),[1] who had enrolled herself, some time since, with his approval, among the nuns of San Zaccaria: the only partners of his confidence were his son-in-law, Giovanni Morosini,[2] who had married the Doge's daughter, and his intimate friend, the excellent and humane Giovanni Gradenigo;[2] and these were the chosen companions of his flight.

Accompanied by two of the Brethren, named Romoaldo and Marino, the Superior of Saint Michael returned to Venice with scrupulous punctuality on the evening of the 1st September, 978,[3] and repaired according to previous arrangement to the monastery of San Ilario, in Rialto, where they were speedily joined by the Doge and his two associates. Pietro having assumed the humble garb of a pilgrim, the whole party, anxious to escape detection and elude pursuit, quitted San Ilario at midnight, mounted the horses, which awaited them in the immediate neighbourhood,[4] and traversing the narrow and shallow

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 71); Caroldo, *Historie*, p. 25 (King's MSS. 147); Mutinelli (*A. U.* p. 29).

[2] Pietro Giustiniani; Pietro Dolfino, *Annali*, p. 32 (King's MSS. 149); De Monacis (fol. 38).

[3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 74).

[4] Ibid.

canal, rode at full gallop across the country. The fugitives reached their destination in safety; and when he had received the hospitable welcome of the abbot, Morosini bade farewell to his father-in-law and to Gradenigo, who shared his seclusion, and retraced his steps homeward. The noble Recluse survived his strange resolution nineteen years; more than once during that long period he was visited in the solitude of Cusano by his youthful son Pietro, to whom it is gravely alleged that he foretold his future fame; and it was whispered indeed, that Orseolo the Holy had then lived long enough[1] to repent the vow,[2] which he somewhat too precipitately made to Fra Guarini.[3]

The Doge's flight was not disclosed till the morning of the 2nd of September. The house which Orseolo had occupied in the street of S. Filippo e Giacomo, at once became an object of general attention and curiosity. A large number of persons were naturally

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[1] Lorenzo de Monacis (fol. 39).

[2] *Vitæ SS. Ordinis Sancti Benediciti* (sec. v. p. 855).

[3] 1. *Vita di San Pietro Orseolo Doge e Principe di Vinetia fatto monaco e eremita in Guascogna descritta da F. Fulgentio Manfredi Venetiano.* Ven. 1606: 4°, 4 leaves.

2. *Dissertazione di Apostolo Zeno intorno al tempo del Principato, della fuga, e della morte di San Pietro Orseolo, Doge di Venezia.*

3. *Justi Fontanini Archiepiscopi Ancyrani de Sancto Petro Urseolo Duce Venetorum, postea Monacho Ord. S. Benedicti Dissertatio.* Romæ, 1730: 4°.

4. *Sacra Rituum Congregatione Eccellentissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinali Ottobono ponente, Venetæ Concessionis officii et missæ in honorem S. Petri Urseoli olim Ducis Venetiarum et deinde monachi Ord. S. Bened. Positio.* Romæ, 1731: fol.

5. *Vita del glorioso Principe San Pietro Orseolo, Doge di Venezia, indi monaco ed eremita Santissimo, Autore U. P. Don Guido Grandi.* Ven. 1733: 4°. The life of Giovanni Gradenigo was written by Amadio Luzzi, a Venetian. See Foscarini (*Letteratura Veneziana*, 323, edit. 1854, 8°).

anxious to ascertain the truth of the strange story, which was now gaining currency in the city. The unexpected intelligence gave rise, in the public mind, to a mixed feeling. That his Serenity would ultimately lay aside the sceptre, was a contingency which had not, perhaps, been unforeseen by those who knew the man, and the strong distaste which he had for worldliness and pomp. But no one had imagined that the period of his abdication was so near, or that the place of his retirement would be so distant; and even the Lady Felicita,[1] while she consoled herself for the loss of her consort by admiring the wisdom of the vow, could not refrain from expressing her surprise, that the Doge should have chosen to fix his last earthly abode in a convent at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, instead of passing a life of sanctity and ease among the vineyards of San Zaccaria, or the olive-groves of Amiano.[2] Still, although there might be many who regarded with unfeigned sorrow the loss of so pious and so amiable a prince, the departure of Orseolo was not to be considered as a public misfortune. The insolvent state to which the Ducal Fisc had been reduced by recent disbursements, the restless ambition of Otho II., the covert jealousy which he nourished of Venetian independence, and the manifold causes which they had to dread his

[1] De Monacis, fol. 38 (Add. MSS. B. M. 8574).

[2] "En 1731, il fut canonisé par le pape Clement XIV., et en 1732, ses reliques furent envoyées par Louis XV. au Sénat Vénitien."—*Labaume.* See also *Relazione della Reliquia di S. Pietro Orseolo.* Ven. 1735: 8°.

animosity, led many to own the expediency of having as their chief magistrate, at that juncture, a man who, even in preference to other recommendations, was acceptable to the Hohenstaufen. It therefore became a question in some quarters, whether an event, which afforded the nation the opportunity of gaining so desirable an object, was not an advantage rather than the contrary. The Candiani or Sanudi, on whom the excesses of the last Doge of the name had brought such opprobrium and obloquy, were known to possess greater influence over the present Emperor of the West than any other family in Venice; and the people consequently felt that, by seeking the successor of Orseolo among the members of that illustrious house, they were best consulting the common interest. Their choice fell on Vitali, the uncle of the Patriarch of Grado, and the younger brother[1] of the late Sanudo IV.

The palace not having yet been brought to a state of completion, the new Doge, like his two predecessors, was obliged to conduct the administration of public affairs at his own house, at San Ponal.[2]

The late Pietro Orseolo was singularly free from the vices which commonly attend worldly prosperity; his manners were gentle and unassuming, and his carriage modest yet dignified. He was pious to superstition, munificently charitable, chastely austere; an enthusiast in religion, and in life an ascetic. He was not en-

[1] Gradenigo (*Lettera a Brunacci*, 1760). [2] Harl. MSS. 4820.

dowed with brilliant talents: yet he had acquitted himself honourably of the duties which devolved on him. Only it might be predicated of him that he leaned too much to bigotry, and was almost too good a man to be a great prince. Even at this distance of time we can picture Orseolo, half Doge, half monk, now addressing the Arrengo on some current topic of public concern; now conversing in a low and subdued voice with some meanly clad pilgrim, newly arrived from Rome or the East: at one time performing some strange and mysterious penance in his private chapel; at another, coming forth from the inner apartment of his house to receive the ambassador of Otho, or the deputies of Justinople.

Among the papers which Orseolo left behind him was a short will, which he had prepared on the evening of the 1st, just before his departure. This instrument, by which the bulk of his extensive property was bequeathed to his only son and heir Pietro, provided funds for the erection of a new Ducal chapel, the building of a public hospital, and for various other charitable purposes.[1]

The offer of the crown to Sanudo the Fifth was a flattering testimony to the power and influence of the House to which he belonged; his acceptance seemed to imply a readiness on his part to endeavour to place the relations of his country with the Emperor on a more friendly footing. The Doge was fully sensible of this pressing obligation; and in the choice of an envoy

[1] Sagorninus contemp. (*Chron.* 75).

to the Court of Germany, Vitali naturally fixed on his kinsman the Patriarch, who had just returned from Verona to Venice, in the well-founded expectation of a cordial welcome and a permanent stay.[1] The Metropolitan, although he betrayed some distaste for so long and wearisome a journey, accepted the trust; and the result of his mission was, on the whole, satisfactory. The avarice of a trading community exulted in the intelligence that Otho had consented to renew for a term of five years the charter by virtue of which the merchants of Venice disposed of their cargoes, on easy and lucrative conditions, in the ports of the kingdom of Italy. Yet the national pride was hurt, in no slight degree, by the Patriarch's report that, in granting the request of Sanudo and the Republic, his Majesty declared himself actuated solely by a wish to please his mother Adelaide and his consort Theophano, coupled with a desire to merit the Divine clemency by compassionating the forlorn state of the people in the Salt-Lagoon.[2] This imperfect reconciliation with the German Emperor was the sole act which distinguished the brief and uneventful reign of Sanudo V.; and in the fourteenth month after his accession, this prince, whose health had always been infirm, formed a determination to resign a crown which had already become irksome, and to withdraw into the monastery of San Ilario, in the neighbourhood of Fusina.[3] Thirty-

[1] Pietro Giustiniani, fol. 32 (King's MSS. 148).
[2] Muratori (v. p. 450); Filiasi (vi. p. 213); Marin (ii. p. 188).
[3] Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 551).

seven years only had elapsed since, in 942, the House of Badoer ceased to reign; and now the other great Venetian dynasty of Sanudo or Candiano, which, with that of Badoer, had enjoyed during two centuries the largest share of political influence in the Republic, beheld its last crowned representative in the successor of Orseolo the Holy. The line, which opened with the hero of Mucole, terminated in the valetudinarian of San Ilario.

Marina Sanudo, the niece of Sanudo V., and the daughter of his elder brother Sanudo IV., was united at this time to Tribuno, the son of Andrea Memo, of San Marcuola, in the district of Canalreggio, a man of ample fortune, and the owner of another large estate near Malamocco,[1] but of mean parts, and of a narrow understanding.[2] Yet his enormous wealth, his alliance with the Doge's kinswoman, and his influence over the House of Caloprini, with which he was also connected by marriage, appear to have rendered merit a secondary consideration; and when, in November, 979, Sanudo expressed his strong desire to abdicate, Memo was chosen to succeed him. The new Doge is said to have been extravagantly fond of flowers and shrubs, which he cultivated with much assiduity and success, and his grounds at San Marcuola enjoyed great celebrity.

When the Doge Orseolo ascended the Venetian throne in the autumn of 976, the Ducal Palace and

[1] Cigogua (*Iscrizioni*, v. 4, p. 404); Litta *in voce* Candiano.
[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 76); Mutinelli (*Annali*, 39).

the Basilica had recently fallen a prey to the flames. The restoration of these buildings, which had been at once commenced by the new Ruler, made very little progress however during his short reign, and when he vacated the chief magistracy in 978, the undertaking was left in a most unfinished state. During his continuance in office, Orseolo appears to have resided exclusively at his own house in the street of San Filippo e Giacomo. His successor, Vitali Sanudo, whose feeble health and brief administration left him very little taste and very little time for the active prosecution of public works, most probably followed the example set by Orseolo, and we find that even when Tribuno Memo was elected in 979, the arrangements at Saint Mark's were still so incomplete, that the ceremony of the coronation was performed at the private residence of Memo at San Marcuola,[1] near the church of S. Ermacora and Fortunato, of which the Memi were the founders and patrons.

During the earlier part of his reign, the attention of Otho II. had been mainly occupied by the affairs of Germany; and it was not till toward the year 982, that he found himself in a position to carry into execution his favourite plan for the recovery of Southern Italy, to which his union with Theophano, the niece of Basilius and Constantine, and heiress of Apulia

[1] *Chronicha delle casade di Venezia*, p. 215 (King's MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 150); Pietro Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 32 (ibid. No. 148). A church was built in honour of Saint Hermagoras, in the early part of the seventh century.

and Calabria, gave him, in his own estimation, a just and exclusive right. His success in the Peninsula, however, was far from corresponding to his expectations; the hope of winning back the triple crown, which had once glittered on the brows of Charlemagne, was dispelled by the firm and hostile attitude of the joint successors of Constantine the Great; and the real weakness of the Byzantine Court was disguised by the prompt co-operation of Venice and the Saracens. The former was actuated in this instance by two motives, of which one may be said to have been of a negative, the other of a positive character. Firstly, the Republic had no object in deviating from her traditional policy toward the Lower Empire; in the second place, she had every inclination to resent the support and countenance which Otho had lent to the Dogaressa Gualdrada and her son the Patriarch Sanudo in the affair of 976. The latter, naturally anxious to prevent the invader from establishing himself in the south of Italy, speedily recruited their ranks by levies from Sicily and Algiers; a Greek army was conveyed in Venetian transports to the shores of Calabria; and the forces of the Emperor, who had fearlessly advanced to meet his opponents, were almost annihilated by the confederates at the battle of Basentello. Otho himself, who was obliged to seek safety in flight, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Greeks; and he succeeded with difficulty in regaining Verona, where he convoked a general Diet of the empire. This assembly was com-

posed of the great vassals of the realm, the high dignitaries of the church, and the deputies from foreign courts; and the ranks of the latter body were unexpectedly swelled by the arrival of Pietro Morosini, Noello Badoer, and Pietro Andreadi, the envoys of the new Doge. The Venetians, whose national welfare depended so much on the continuance in force of the charter conceded to them, in the seventh century, by the second of the Lombard Kings, were still unaware to what extent their co-operation with the Greeks had attracted his notice, and had incurred his displeasure; and they felt that, should any soreness of feeling really exist in the mind of Otho on this ground, it was expedient to remove or mitigate it on the first opportunity.

With this important mission it was, that Morosini and his two companions had been charged by Tribuno Memo. The Envoys, who were ushered into the Council-Hall with the customary pomp, found the Emperor more than ordinarily frigid and repulsive in his manner; and although he made no explicit allusion to the part which the Republic had borne in the late campaign, it was evident that the fact of Venetian transports having been placed at the disposal of the Byzantine Court, had come to his ears. Their charter, however, which bore the seals and signs-manual of Luitprand the Lombard, of Charlemagne, of Pepin the Little, of Lothar, of Louis the Pious, of Charles le Gros, and, lastly, of Otho I., was demanded; and after a prodigious parade, the com-

mercial privileges of the Islanders were confirmed, subject to the annual payment of fifty pounds (*lire picciole*) of gold,[1] to the imperial treasury.

But while the Republic was viewed by her powerful neighbour with such a jealous and resentful eye, she was far more keenly sensible of the danger which might arise from the shameful and treacherous discord of her own citizens. The capital, which had enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity since the revolution of 976, was plunging once more into strife and dissension. Public order was violated, public opinion divided, by a feud between the Morosini and the Caloprini,[2] originating in the old question, whether an adhesion to the Eastern or Western empire was most conducive to the welfare and prosperity of their Commune. The Morosini were in favour of the Byzantine Court; their rivals declared for the Court of Pavia. The former, who echoed the sentiments of the people at large, were the more numerous; the latter, who counted on the firm support of the great houses of Memo and Sanudo, were, at first, the more influential party. But they speedily lost that influence through their own

[1] Equal to about 1,500*l.* This annual tax, however, was usually tendered in the form of a robe of cloth of gold of the prescribed value. It is doubtful whether the custom of purchasing the privilege of free trade was introduced by Otho II., or whether it dates from an earlier period. I do not, however, observe any such stipulation in the antient treaties of the Republic with the successors of Alboin and Charlemagne, and am therefore disposed to conclude that it originated only in the tenth century, when the trade of the Venetians with the Peninsula had become more extensive and valuable, and that it was most probably an innovation made by Otho himself.

[2] Sagorninus contemp. (*Chron.* 76–7).

violence and indiscretion. One day, a naked corpse was discovered in a small boat, near the water-gate of the Abbey of San Zaccaria; it was immediately identified as the body of Domenigo Morosini, a man universally esteemed for his piety and virtue; and a report was soon rife that this unfortunate victim of party had been seized as he was leaving the church of San Pietro, in the same district, by the satellites of Stefano Caloprini, the leader of the opposite faction, and had been beaten to death. It was supposed that the assassins, having accomplished their purpose, had stripped the body and thrown it into a boat which happened to drift to the door of San Zaccaria.[1] This intelligence produced a general sentiment of indignation and horror; and Caloprini, anticipating the consequences of the disclosures which were being hourly made, lost no time in providing for his own safety and that of his connexions and accomplices. The fugitives, having succeeded in escaping the hands of justice, directed their steps to the Court of Verona, where an asylum was not refused to them. The emigrant party consisted of Caloprini himself, his two sons, Marino and Stefano, and his four principal adherents, Orso Badoer, Domenigo Selvo, Pietro Tribuno, and Giovanni Benato.

At the commencement of the quarrel between the Caloprini and their rivals, Tribuno Memo had instinctively attached himself to the former, with whom he

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 77).

was connected by the double tie of marriage and friendship. The deplorable tragedy at Olivolo, however, led the Doge to change his views and his party; the family and kindred of Domenigo Morosini were now in their turn caressed, and the Caloprini fell into odium. Facing the Ducal Palace,[1] yet separated from it by a narrow canal, lay the small island of San Giorgio Maggiore, so called from a cognominal church which had been founded on that site in the early ages of the Commonwealth. At this time San Giorgio, though celebrated for its vineyards, its oliveyards, and its avenues of cypresses, was totally uninhabited; and Memo, whose progenitors appear to have purchased[2] the manorial rights, at some period antecedent to the present, of the Badoer family, the antient proprietors, determined to confer the islet as a peace-offering on Giovanni Morosini, the son-in-law of the late Doge Orseolo, who was desirous of establishing a monastery of the Order of Saint Benedict.[3] The act of donation, which bore date the 20th December, 982, was subscribed by the Doge himself, the Ducal Notary, and 130 of the principal Houses in Venice; and in the conditions attached to the grant, was included the important stipulation, that the founder of the new institution and his descendants should drain the marshy ground on the estate, or in the vicinity, and should bring the soil under cultivation.[4] From this ill-judged step evolved the most calamitous results.

[1] Sansovino (lib. v. p. 218).
[2] Galliciolli (lib. i. c. 5).
[3] De Monacis, fol. 38; Sanudo, fol. 465.
[4] Romanin (i. 263).

In the mean time, the exiles had found ready admittance to the presence of the Emperor; and Otho listened with attention to the words which fell from Stefano Caloprini. "Sire," cried the latter, "it is at the feet of a Prince, who is the darling of his subjects, the cynosure of the Universe, that the victims of tyranny and misfortune have come to throw themselves. Banished from a country, toward which we have given so many proofs of our love, our sole safety is in your protection; and we rise not till you have deigned to commiserate our lot. We assure you, Sire, that we have had no share in the death of the excellent Doge Sanudo; nor in the infraction of the treaties which attached our Commune to your empire; neither have we courted an alliance with the Greeks, your inveterate enemies. I speak not" (continued Caloprini) "in the name only of those whom you behold prostrate at your feet, and who are themselves persons of no small consideration, but in the name of all who detest, as we do, the despotism of a faction, and that of a Doge, who lends to it his aid and countenance." The speaker concluded by offering to Otho the sovereignty of Venice and the Adriatic, with the suggestion that, so soon as the matter came to a successful issue, he should feel a pride and a pleasure in administering the new province in the imperial name.[1] An annual tribute of one hundred pounds of gold should attest his devotion and allegiance; and the Venetian Marine,

[1] Caroldo (*Hist. Venete*, p. 39).

placed at the disposal of his Majesty, might materially assist in the expulsion of the Saracens and Greeks from Italy, and in avenging Basentello. The specious eloquence and plausible manner of the Emigrant produced the desired effect; in his expression of loyal affection and fidelity Caloprini was believed to be honest; and Otho agreed, after some hesitation, to the plan of this reckless and unprincipled intriguer for annexing the Dogado to Lombardy, and appointing him imperial governor of the new Venetian Province.[1]

But before such a project could be carried into execution, it was obviously necessary to reduce the Venetians themselves to submission; an edict, suspending all commercial intercourse between the Republic and the empire, and declaring the islands in a state of siege, promised a speedy attainment of that object; and the conspirators, in whose bosom a fierce and unnatural hatred of the country of their birth seemed to stifle every noble sentiment, were not ashamed to accept the task of enforcing to their utmost power its observance, by superintending in person the blockade of the rivers, which disembogue in the salt-lagoon, and whose waters usually poured into the lap of Venice a bountiful supply of the necessaries of life. At the same time, Cavarzero (*Caput Aggeris*), situated within a short distance of Commacchio, sold herself to the enemy for a promise of

[1] Mutinelli (*Annali*, pp. 30–1).

the municipal franchise; and Giovanni, Bishop of Belluno, availing himself, by suggestion or instinct, of the embarrassed state of the Republic, made an inroad of a predatory character into Citta Nuova, from which he returned with an ample booty.

On the other hand, a decree was published, in the name of the Commune of Venice, launching a sentence of outlawry against the three Caloprini and their accomplices, declaring their lands and effects confiscated, and their families the hostages of the State. This edict, however, while it served to gratify the popular pride and resentment, did not contribute to extricate the besieged from their difficulty. By the abrupt discontinuance of their intercourse with the ports of the Adriatic, which were now unexceptionally closed against the Venetian flag, all communication with the mainland was suspended; and while their internal resources were approaching exhaustion, the hope of external relief was dissipated by the presence of an imperial squadron,[1] which had received orders to cut off any supplies which might arrive from Dalmatia or the East. The dilemma therefore seemed hopeless, and the voice of distress was soon heard above that of indignation. At this critical juncture, however, when the Republic was almost reduced to a cruel alternative, the news reached Venice, that Otho had died of an ague at Rome, leaving the reins of government during the long minority of his son in the joint hands of

[1] Romanin (i. 263).

Adelaide and Theophano.[1] The joyful tidings were substantiated by the removal of the Interdict, and by a message of condolence from the Court of the Regency; and the Venetians, who, for a moment, had despaired almost of their liberty and independence, breathed more freely (December, 983).

The loss of his Patron, and the frustration of his projects, gave a terrible blow to the pride and ambition of Stefano Caloprini, who found himself thrown, by the death of Otho, into a position of peculiar embarrassment. He feared that, while he was an object of aversion in the eyes of his own Commune, the views of the Court of Verona toward him might experience a certain recoil. It was barely likely that the former would now listen to terms of accommodation: the latter might even refuse to shield the rebellious subjects of a friendly State; and should his overtures to Memo be more successful than he expected, the exile felt a natural repugnance to humble himself before a people, over whom he had so lately hoped to rule with dictatorial power. Yet Stefano appears to have deferred in the end to the wishes of his children and adherents, who were anxious to be restored to their homes. At his solicitation, Adelaide consented to undertake the task of intercession; and the Republic, unwilling to displease the Court of the Regency, acceded without seeming reluctance to the return of the emigrants. The elder Caloprini, how-

[1] Muratori (v. p. 464).

ever, was not spared to avail himself of the indulgence which he had sought; the sense of shame and disappointment, of baffled spite and defeated ambition, rankled too deeply in his mind; and his two sons, Marino and Stefano, were forced to return fatherless to a country of which they had deserved so ill.

On their arrival at Venice, the two brothers found that their antagonists, who had turned the unfortunate affair at Olivolo to the best account, still preserved the political ascendency which they owed to that circumstance, and that, while the enlistment of the Doge and his kindred in the ranks of the Morosini rendered that family the most powerful in the Republic, the same cause operated inversely on the influence of the once great House of Caloprini. It was with indignation and chagrin, that the latter noted the triumphant insolence of the faction which had thus usurped their place in the confidence and goodwill of Memo, and the impunity with which the new favourites of that fickle and weak Prince committed acts of the most unwarrantable nature: nor could they conceal from themselves the mortifying fact that, although their countrymen might have been led to acquiesce in their recal by motives of policy, they were still regarded by every class of the community with secret dislike. When the state of feeling between the two leading families in Venice was such, it can hardly be accounted strange, that the civil war which had ceased, since the death of Domenigo Morosini, to occupy any considerable share of public attention, burst forth afresh with more

violence and malignity than ever. The disgraceful contest endured through several years, and to such a degree, at last, was the spirit of partizanship inflamed by open hostilities and petty annoyances, that one day, as Marino and Stefano Caloprini were returning homeward, and were on the point of entering their gondola, they were overtaken and stabbed by four of the adverse Faction. The corpses, which had dyed with their gore the margin of the Canal where the tragedy took place, were secured by some of the servants of the fallen noblemen and conveyed to their homes.[1]

This catastrophe brought the struggle to a climax. The whole capital was resonant with cries of horror. All demanded justice; some clamoured for blood; and in the poignancy of her grief and the height of her indignation, the mother of the Caloprini was heard to invoke the curse of Heaven on the heads of the murderers. It was in vain, too, that the Doge disclaimed any cognizance of the authors of the recent outrage; the people[2] pronounced it intolerable, that their lives and their liberties should be placed at the arbitrement of a profligate faction and of a prince who stooped to connive at its worst acts; and after a not uneventful reign of nearly twelve years, the successor of Sanudo V. prudently concealed his shame and apprehensions beneath the cowl (991).

Had the lot of Tribuno Memo been cast in the

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 84); Dandolo (lib. viii. p. 221).

[2] "A quo tamen facinore licet Dux se inculpabilem redderet, nonnulli tamen eum conscium affirmabant."—*Dandolo.*

eighth, instead of the tenth century, it is to be suspected that his fate would have been more cruel; had he lived two centuries later, it is not too much to predict, that he would scarcely have met with treatment so gentle. Not less bitter, perhaps, were the reflexions of Memo, as he returned to take a last farewell of San Marcuola, before he entered the precincts of San Zaccaria, and to catch a glimpse of that smiling garden, those shaded grounds, and that tranquil retreat, which he left to mount a throne, where he had found little else than briars and thorns.

Six days subsequently to his enrolment among the Brethren of San Zaccaria, the ex-Doge died in a sudden and unexpected manner. His remains were consigned with due solemnity to the vault, where reposed already the sacred ashes of Angelo Badoer and Pietro Tribuno, the two heroes of Albiola;[1] and the bust of Memo, which was afterward placed on a pedestal in San Giorgio Maggiore, shewed that the monks of Saint Benedict did not forget how much their order was indebted to the patron of Giovanni Morosini.

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[1] Memoriæ Tribuni Memi *Optimi Principis*, qui factiosis urbe pulsis, inde Octonis II. Cesaris odio in Rem. mirificè eluso, de eâdem ubiq. promeritus, ut eternam eamq. certiorem adspiceretur gloriam, abdicato imperio, hanc insulam monachus incoluit, ac ejusdem instituti viris piè legavit. Fidem grati animi ergo posuere MDCX. Decessit DCCCCXCII. This is the epitaph of Memo in San Giorgio Maggiore, and has been here given as a curiosity.—*Sansovino* (*V. D.* v. p. 220). So much for monumental inscriptions!

Memo was succeeded by Pietro, the only son of Orseolo the Holy. The new Doge was just entering his thirtieth year, having been born in 960 or 961; and the People in giving him their suffrages, felt a secret presentiment, that his subsequent career would justify their choice, and realize the prediction of his saintly parent.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 991–1084.

Orseolo II., Doge (991–1008)—Acquisition of Dalmatia and Assumption of the Title (998)—Orseolo III., Doge (1008–25)—Pietro Barbolano, Doge (1026)—Orso Orseolo, Vice-Doge—Domenigo Flabenigo, Doge (1033–43)—Abolition of Hereditary Succession and Association—Domenigo Contarini, Doge (1043–71)—Revolt of Zara (1050)—Domenigo Selvo, Doge (1071–84)—Battles of Durazzo and Corfu (1081–4)—Deposition of Selvo (1084).

On his accession to power, Orseolo II.[1] hastened to invite the attention of Adelaide and Theophano to the inroad of Giovanni, Bishop of Belluno, in 983, into the confines of Citta Nuova; and the court of the Regency, still prepossessed in favour of the Venetians, granted with readiness the prayer of Maurizio Morosini, the Ducal envoy and advocate, for an inquiry into that inexcusable act of aggression. The evidence adduced before the imperial Tribunal at Pavia, was clear and circumstantial; the conterminous line of Venice and Belluno was carefully defined; and the

[1] In the reign of Orseolo II., we have the advantage of a contemporary chronicler, Sagorninus (*Chronicum Venetum ad annum* 1008). Sagorninus lived during the reigns of Orseolo and his son, and survived almost to the middle of the eleventh century.

Bishop was formally adjudged to offer suitable reparation for the damage which he had inflicted. The Prelate, however, having found some technical flaw in the form of procedure, appealed against this decree. A second trial was demanded and allowed. It brought a similar result. The doubts of Giovanni were removed by a distinct intimation from the Court of Pavia that, unless he satisfied without delay the judicial award, recourse must be had to measures of a more trenchant nature; and the stubborn churchman, awed into obedience by the peremptory tone of the Empress, vented his spleen by ordering all the Venetian residents of Belluno to quit that city and see. Orseolo thereupon published, as a coercive measure of tried efficacy, a decree which directed a suspension of the usual commercial intercourse between Belluno and the Lagoon.[1] The ingenious policy, by which the Republic had insensibly engrossed the bulk of the trade of the Adriatic, once more made its effects apparent in the speedy submission of the Bishop, who soon found his supplies run short; and the difference having been settled satisfactorily after some delay and dispute, the relations of Giovanni with the Venetian Commune regained in due course their original footing, although it may be safely assumed that the former chafed not a little at the retribution for an act which

[1] According to Marin (ii. 233), the suspending decree was conceived thus:—"Che nessun Veneto ardisca piu portarsi nella giurisdizione del Vescovo di Belluno, ne far piu contratto con le popolazioni da lui dependenti."

he had committed eight years before with the full confidence of impunity.[1]

A short time anterior to the abdication of the late Doge, his son Maurizio[2] was sent to Constantinople to conduct and sign a new commercial treaty between the Republic and the Empire; and the noble ambassador was just arranging the preliminaries, when the news of his father's deposition and death recalled him to Venice. The negotiation was at present, therefore, in a state of abeyance; and Orseolo, fully sensible of the advantage of an early settlement of so important a question, sent two representatives, Pietro Barbolano and Pietro Giustiniani, in the same year (991) to the Byzantine Court, to treat in his name and that of the Republic, with Basilius and Constantine, who still jointly ruled the eastern remnant of the empire of Augustus. The result of this mission, which was eminently successful, was a *chrysobole*,[3] in which the exemptions already enjoyed by the Venetian traders in Constantinople, and throughout the realm, were confirmed, and the duty, chargeable on each cargo of Venetian produce or merchandise in Greek ports, was reduced from *twenty-five* to *two* soldi. The former rate, which was of course designed by the Imperial Government to be protective, was undoubtedly far too heavy; but the lucrative nature of the new tariff was,

[1] Sagorninus contemp. *Chronicon*, p. 86; Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. 1).

[2] Sagorninus (*Chron.*); P. Giustiniani, *Chronica*, p. 33 (King's MSS. 148).

[3] Marin (ii. p. 211); Depping (*Commerce du Levant*, i. p. 151).

on the contrary, most highly calculated to advance the national prosperity of Venice, by throwing open the advantages of commerce to more general enterprise and competition.

The relations of the Republic with the German empire of the West were formally renewed in an interview, which Otho III. granted at Mullhausen to Giovanni the Dean,[1] on the 19th July, 992; and those relations were still farther improved in a second audience, to which the Emperor admitted the Dean and Pietro Gradenigo, on the 1st May, 996. By these two treaties: 1. The grants of Otho II. and his predecessors were confirmed. 2. The right of the Venetians to hunt and fish, on certain easy conditions, in the woods and rivers of Lombardy, was also recognized. 3. A treaty was sanctioned with the Bishop of Treviso, by which the duty payable on each gallon of wine imported by Venetian traders into that diocese, was fixed at half a *danaro*, and on the salt and other commodities, at a fortieth part of the whole.[2] 4. A similar treaty was sanctioned with the Bishop of Ceneda, by which it was stipulated that the port of Gruaro, on the Livenza, ten miles from Aquileia,[3] should belong to the Republic, in consideration of a certain sum of ready money, an annual tribute of sixty pounds of oil from the Ducal Fisc, and an

[1] He was accompanied by Giovanni Orseolo, the eldest son of the Doge, yet still of tender years.

[2] Provided, however, that the amount of salt exceeded three hundred bushels; otherwise no charge was to be exacted.

[3] Marino Sanudo (*Itinerario*, 145).

oblation of equal value to the church of San Tiziano, by each Venetian resident. 5. The port of San Michele del Quarto, on the Silis, was opened to the Republic. 6. All runaway serfs, who might take refuge in the imperial dominions, were to be restored to their Venetian owners. 7. The claim of the Republic to any property, which her citizens might have acquired in Lombardy, was fully allowed. 8. Any Venetian, who was guilty of a crime or offence of whatever nature, was to be amenable only to a Venetian tribunal.[1] A fine of 500 pounds of gold (*lire picciole*), one moiety of which was payable to the imperial treasury, the other to the aggrieved person, was incurred by any subject of Otho, who should violate the provisions of the new International Treaty.

The highly advantageous compacts which he had thus made with the empires of the East and West, did not satisfy the ambition of Orseolo; that patriotic prince, intent on promoting the welfare of his country, and anxious to afford Venetian enterprise a wider sphere of action, determined, in spite of the prejudices of the age in which he lived, to enter into negotiations of a similar character with the misbelievers of Barbary, Egypt,[2] Syria, and Tartary. A contemporary writer affirms that the Doge succeeded in establishing rela-

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche Storiche sull' opportunita della Laguna Veneta pel Commercio*, 45; and *Sul Antico Commercio dei Veneziani*, pp. 27–32).

[2] Sagorninus contemp. *Chronicon Venetum*. The Venetians visited Alexandria, in Egypt, in the early part of the ninth century; at the period of the translation of Saint Mark (829), two merchants belonging to the Republic were trading in that port with ten galleys.

tions of a friendly and favourable character with the Saracens of Italy, Sicily, and Algiers; history also speaks with some confidence of the treaties,[1] which his envoys concluded on behalf of the merchants of Venice, with the khan of the Crimea, and the petty princes of Cairo, Damascus, Medina, and Tunis;[2] and the chronicle of the monastery of Cava relates how, in 987, four years before the accession of Orseolo, some large Venetian ships stayed at Salerno on their way to Syria, and how not unfrequently the merchantmen of the Republic foundered in that neighbourhood with rich cargoes.[3] In the last-named city, the Venetians possessed from a very remote epoch a church, an oven, and several houses.

But while the sagacious and enlightened policy of the Republic was thus directing itself to the extension or improvement of her commercial relations with various European and Asiatic powers, an event occurred, which might well tempt men who remembered the bad times of Sanudo IV. and of Tribuno Memo, to imagine that the Goddess of Fortune had been hoarding her favours of late years, in order to lavish them more prodigally on the country of the Doge Orseolo. About a century before his time, the Venetian traders, seriously annoyed and alarmed by the piratical and predatory incursions of the

[1] Foscarini (*Dei Viaggiatori Veneziani; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv.); De Monacis, fol. 41 (Add. MSS. 8574).

[2] Filiasi (*Memorie*, vi. p. 241); ibid. (*Ricerche*, 37).

[3] Apud Murat. vi.

Narentines, had entered[1] into a private arrangement by which they consented to purchase a security for their vessels and merchandise with a yearly tribute. Orseolo, properly considering that such a compromise, under whatever subterfuge or disguise, cast a grave reflexion on the national honour, without providing any durable remedy for the evil, refused, shortly after his entry into office, to sanction any future remittances; the tax was, consequently, discontinued in 996; and so vehement was the ire of the Corsairs at this insolent *breach of faith* on the part of the Republic, that it was judged expedient to despatch six armed galleys to the Adriatic, under the command of Badoer Bragadino, to protect the Venetian flag, and to clear the Gulf.[2] That small squadron, as it cruised along the opposite shore, met and defeated a Narentine fleet of greatly superior force, and after taking by storm the citadel of Lissa, one of their strongest fastnesses, returned to the Lagoon with an ample booty and a considerable number of prisoners.

By a somewhat curious synchronism, a deputation from the maritime towns of the opposite coast had lately waited on Orseolo,[3] partly at the suggestion of the Venetian residents of Zara and Justinople, and having represented to him the cruel and intolerable nature of the tyranny, which they were at present suffering at the

[1] Sandi (i. p. 330); Tiepolo (*Discorsi*, i. pp. 64–65). "Comme de nos jours," observes Salverte (p. 61), "les puissances européennes en payaient un aux nations barbaresques."

[2] Harl. MSS. No. 3549; P. Giustiniani, King's MSS. 148, fol. 33.

[3] Sagorninus contemp. *Chron.* 93.

hands of the petty sovereigns of Dalmatia and Croatia, as well as the heavy losses which, to some extent in common with the Republic, they continued to experience from the inroads of the pirates, had expressed a wish to ameliorate their condition by changing their masters. This manifestation of the good-will of the Dalmatians and Istrians toward his Commune,[1] and the important successes since obtained by Badoer Bragadino with the little squadron under his orders, brought the Doge to the natural conclusion that the conquest of the whole line of coast might be compassed without much difficulty. The Deputies were consequently dismissed with the confident assurance of early relief. In the Popular Assembly, a proposition, on which much diversity of opinion might reasonably exist, was received with general favour and enthusiasm; from his new project the Doge found few dissentient voices: and some months after the departure of the Dalmatian delegates, two hundred vessels of all sail might be seen moored among the shallows of Malamocco and Caorlo, awaiting the signal to weigh anchor for the Dalmatian expedition. The supreme command of the fleet was left to Orseolo himself. The lieutenants of the Doge were Andrea Michieli and Luca Barozzi.[2]

It was on the 18th May, 997, that the fleet left its moorings, and pointed its prows toward Olivolo, where the Doge was received by Bishop Gradenigo, and conducted to the church of San Pietro. There, after the

[1] Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. ch. ii.)

[2] *Chroniche Veneziane* (vol. i. fol. 80; Add. MSS. 8579).

usual preliminary of mass, the blessing of Heaven was invoked on the new undertaking; and, at the conclusion, Gradenigo delivered to Orseolo, with a few words of encouragement and flattery, the great standard of Saint Mark.[1] The Doge then re-embarked, and proceeded to Grado, where he was met by the Patriarch Vitali Sanudo, followed by a solemn procession of the clergy and the people: his Serenity received at the hands of Sanudo the Sacred Banner of San Ermacora. From Grado the whole armament sailed successively to Pirano, Omago, Emonia, Parenzo, Rovigno, Pola, Zara, Spalatro, Trau, Ossero, Arbo, Veglia, Sebenigo, Belgrado, Lenigrado, and Curzola. All those places appeared to welcome the Venetians as their deliverers, and each readily took an oath of allegiance to its new suzerain. At Zara, where the merchants of Venice had formed their earliest settlements, and where the people exhibited peculiar fervour, Orseolo spent six days; and during that period arrived a deputation from Dircislaus, King of Croatia, whose alarm at the successful progress of the expedition rendered him desirous of conciliating the Republic. The ambassadors of Dircislaus were, from motives which will become apparent, dismissed without an audience. At Trau,[2] he found the brother of the King, Cresimir by name, who implored his Serenity to aid him in establishing a joint claim to the throne of his father, from which he

[1] Sagorninus contemp. *Chron.* 95.

[2] Lucius (*Memorie Storiche di Trau*, p. 11).

stated that he had been recently driven by the perfidy of Dircislaus. Orseolo entertained the matter favourably, and even consented shortly afterward (998) as a mark of his friendship and esteem, as well as on grounds of commercial policy,[1] to the union of his own daughter Hicela with the son of the Croatian prince.

So far the enterprise had amounted scarcely to more than a triumphal procession. Everywhere, excepting at Curzola, which offered a temporary opposition to the Venetian arms, the same readiness, and even alacrity, had been displayed to bow the neck to the yoke of the Islanders; and certainly, if a deduction may be formed from the joyous reception, which awaited Orseolo at all the places which he visited along the coast, it may be inferred that the annexation of the maritime towns of Istria and Dalmatia to the Dogado was felt, at the time, to be a measure of mutual advantage.

But the campaign was far from being at a close. A great impediment was still to be conquered. Lesina, the principal member of the Illyric group, and the chief resort of the Pirates, still remained untaken; and the Doge, having sent ten galleys from Trau[2] to ravage the coast of Narenta, hastened with the main squadron to accomplish that object. The position of Lesina, which lay about midway between Brazza and Curzola, was rendered almost inaccessible by the breakers and crags, which jutted out in all directions

[1] Mutinelli (*Del Commercio de Veneziani*, p. 18).
[2] Sagorninus contemp. *Chron.* 97.

from the shore, and obstructed in a large measure the navigation of the Gulf; the town itself, which was strongly fortified, was approachable on the side of the sea only by a steep escarpment;[1] and the inhabitants, while they half inclined to the general superstition that the place was impregnable, were fully prepared, should the Venetians persist in their undertaking,[2] to sell their liberties and their lives at a dear rate. Orseolo, however, entered the harbour without hesitation; and the usual summons to surrender having produced no effect, an order was given to commence the assault. In a short time, every element of medieval warfare was brought into play; volleys of stones and clouds of arrows darkened the air; and while the arbalisters and engineers took more deliberate aim at the enemy with their cross-bows and mangonels, the citizens themselves, gathering courage from despair, hurled from the heights every missile, which yielded to their strength. But the steady discipline of the besiegers gradually overcame every difficulty; the Lesinese shrank in dismay from the tempest of stones and darts, which poured without cessation over their walls; the escarpment was scaled; a tower was invested and taken; the Venetians entered the town; and, after a brief interval of licence and confusion, the arrival of the Doge restored order. The judicious clemency of

[1] We learn from Cicero (*Ep. ad Familiares*, lib. v. ep. 10), that this very stronghold had defied, one thousand years before the birth of Orseolo, the utmost efforts of the Roman general, Vatinius, who was obliged to raise the siege of Lesina, after taking four towers.

[2] Sagorninus contemp. *Chron.* 101.

Orseolo conciliated the esteem of the vanquished; and such was the powerful effect, which the reduction of a place, generally thought to be unassailable, produced on its neighbours that, so soon as she heard of the fall of Lesina, the little Republic of Ragusa despatched an embassy to offer her allegiance to the conqueror.[1] At the same time, the ten galleys which had undertaken to lay waste the coast of Narenta, rejoined the main squadron with forty Croatian prizes; and this collateral success, which might be partly instrumental in humiliating King Dircislaus, afforded no slight satisfaction to Orseolo. Having thus, in the course of a few months, completed the object of his expedition, the Doge concluded the campaign by dictating terms to the sea-robbers of Narenta; and Orseolo, having at length returned to the capital, and communicated to the National Arrengo the wonderful success which had attended the arms of the Republic, was solemnly proclaimed DOGE OF VENICE AND DALMATIA (998). The assumption of this lofty and ambitious appellation seems to have been entirely in harmony with the notions of sovereignty generally prevalent at that epoch. The incomplete conquest and precarious tenure of a few hundred miles of the Dalmatian seaboard sufficed, in the eyes of the Venetians, to constitute Dalmatia itself into an integral portion of their dominions; and it is a circumstance strikingly characteristic of the age, that in conferring new honours

[1] Luccari (*Annali di Ragusa*, p. 7). "On place vers 656," says Salverte (*Civilisation de Raguse*, p. 256), "la fondation de Ragusc."

upon the Crown, no attempt was made to discriminate between an immense tract of country in which the Republic had little or no territorial interest and over a small portion only of which she exercised the barest of feudal rights, and the Islands, to which she enjoyed the fullest prescriptive and possessory title.

A wide discrepancy existed in the disposition, which the several towns of Dalmatia had exhibited toward Orseolo and the Republic: but the same yoke was riveted on all. The government of the new province was assigned to a certain number of Venetian citizens, who were nominated by the Doge, and on whom his Serenity in some cases conferred, besides the official designation of *Podesta*, the honorary title of *Count*. Thus his son, Ottone Orseolo, although he had reached only the tender age of *eight years*, became Podesta and Count of Ragusa; Maffeo Giustiniani was sent, at the same time, and with a similar object, to Zara; Vitali Michieli, to Belgrado; Marino Memo, to Curzola and some of the islets in the vicinity; Giovanni Cornaro, to Sebenigo; and Domenigo Polani, to Trau. Each fief was required to bring a yearly subsidy to the treasury of Saint Mark. Pola engaged to send two thousand pounds of oil, as well as a free gift of cotton to the reigning Dogaressa;[1] Ossero, forty sables; Veglia, fifteen sables and thirty fox-skins; and Arbo, ten pounds of silk. Moreover, Pola undertook to guard the Dalmatian coast between her promontory and Rovigno; and Spalatro was bound to furnish three

[1] Martino da Canale (*Cronaca Veneta*, ch. v.)

vessels of war which, in ordinary times, might be applied to a like purpose, and at seasons of exigency form part of a contingent. So far as regards the amount of the tribute, exacted from the other dependencies of the Republic, it is to be supposed that it was regulated by the wealth and geographical position of the tributary.[1]

Subsequently to 998, the Chapters of Trau and Spalatro, which had hitherto confined their loyal enthusiasm to the praises of the Pope and the Emperor, included in their litany the name of the Doge of Venice, whose virtues they commemorated, after those of his Holiness, in chorus, and on whose head they invoked every blessing and benefit in perpetuity. The new litany opened thus:[2] "*Exaudi, Christe, Exaudi, Christe: Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To Our Most Pious and Blessed Father, the Most Merciful *Silvester*, by Divine Providence the Sacred Pontiff of the holy Roman and universal Church, be praise, honour, and grace, and heavenly triumph. *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To Our Most Serene and Excellent Prince and Sovereign, *Pietro Orseolo*, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice and Dalmatia, be honour, praise, and glory, and perpetual triumph." The Venetians of that day justly regarded this as a flattering tribute paid to them, and to the eminent man who then occupied the first place in their Commune; and the sequel will shew that at

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. i.); Filiasi (vi. pp. 262–3).
Johannes Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. ii. p. 72).

the time when it was effected, and long afterward, the introduction of the name of the Doge of Venice into the Dalmatian litanies was very far from being a mere formalism.

In the following year (999) the forty Croatian galleons, which the Venetians had taken in the late campaign, were restored at the repeated intreaty of Dircislaus, with the exception of six which the Doge chose to reserve as a material guarantee. At the same time, the pretensions of Cavarzero to the conterminous territory of Cervia and Loredo, which had been unjustly assigned to her, in 982, by Otho II., were annulled; and the close of the century was also marked by the acquisition of the town of Pieve di Sacco, situated near Padua, twenty-five miles from Venice,[1] which tendered her allegiance to the Republic with an engagement to remit to the Ducal Fisc an annual tribute of 200 pounds of cotton, on the express condition of total exemption from the Ripatico, Teloneo, and other dues of the Dogado.[2]

The year 998, which witnessed the triumphal entry of Orseolo the Second into his capital, was also marked by the arrival of Otho III. in Italy. The prodigious successes of the Doge, and the fame of his exploits, had found an echo in the most remote portions of Germany; and the Emperor himself was possessed by a strong desire to enjoy and cultivate the friendship of

[1] Sanudo (*Itinerario per la Terraferma Veneziana l'anno* 1483; Padova, 1847, 4.)

[2] Marin (ii. 219).

the man who had raised his country to such a conspicuous position in so short a time. Accordingly, when the Dean, who had waited on his Majesty at Mullhausen in 992, and again in 996, as the diplomatic agent of the Republic, presented himself at Ravenna, to communicate the changes which had taken place in Istria and Dalmatia, Otho handed to the envoy a letter addressed to Orseolo, in which he unfolded his intention of paying a secret visit to Rialto, adding, that a solicitude to drink the waters of Pomposa would be the ostensible object of his journey. With six companions, habited like himself in the weeds of pilgrims, the Emperor started from Ravenna in a bark, which conveyed him so far as the harbour of Goro, on the Adriatic; and thence he repaired to the Abbey of San Servolo in Rialto, where the Doge was holding himself in readiness to receive his distinguished guest, and to escort him to the Palace. Four days formed the period of the Emperor's stay. During that brief space, Orseolo dined at noon in public as usual, to avoid suspicion, his Majesty remaining in the private apartment, which had been prepared in the eastern wing of Saint Mark's for his reception.[1] The remainder of the time was spent in discourse and devotional exercises, and the Emperor and his Serenity partook together of the evening meal. When the fourth day arrived, and Otho prepared to take his leave, the Doge presented to him, as a farewell gift, a costly silver chalice and an

[1] Sagorninus contemp. *Chronicon Venetum*; Mutinelli (*Costuma Veneziana*, p. 52).

ivory chair. It is said that so early as 992, even before the acquisition of Dalmatia added so largely to the glory of Orseolo, the Emperor had exhibited his personal esteem for him by requesting leave, which was easily granted, to re-christen the Doge's second son *Pietro*, after himself, *Otho* (or Ottone) *Orseolo*. On parting, the two friends kissed and embraced each other, and, says a contemporary, "both wept."[1] Shortly after his departure, Orseolo convoked the Popular Assembly; and having disclosed the rank and name of his recent visitor, his Serenity announced that, at his solicitation, the Emperor had consented to waive the tribute of cloth of gold, with which his Commune had been accustomed, since 982, to buy the privilege of free trade in the ports of Italy.[2]

Nor were the exertions of Orseolo confined within the narrow compass of Dalmatia. In the month of April, 1004, the Saracens laid siege to Bari, in Apulia;[3] the city was reduced, during the whole summer of that year, to a state of strict blockade; and the Barese were already beginning to yield to the slow influence of famine when, in the middle of October, a powerful squadron commanded by Orseolo in person entered the port without the cognizance of the enemy, and threw a large body of troops into the place.[4] On the following day (Oct. 16), the confederates, led by the

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 107). [2] Sagorninus, *ubi suprâ*.
[3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 110); Pietro Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 34 (King's MSS. No. 148).
[4] Blondus (*Venetorum Gesta*, p. 8); Filiasi (*Ricerche*, p. 200).

Doge and the imperial Catapan, made a sudden and successful sally; and the Saracens, who were completely taken by surprise at the arrival of so great a reinforcement, found themselves under the necessity of raising the siege. It is easy to conceive that this important service was gratefully acknowledged by the Byzantine Court, which still asserted a right of sovereignty over the south of Italy. But, although the successor of Otho III., who had died at Rome in the preceding year, ratified without comment the commercial charter of the Republic, and recognised Orseolo as Doge of Venice and Dalmatia,[1] it becomes a question whether that prince was not more vexed by the participation of the Venetians in the triumph of the Greek Emperor, than he was pleased by the share which they bore in the discomfiture of the common enemy.[2]

It has now been seen how Orseolo II. subjected to the sway of the Republic the towns on the Dalmatian littoral, and the Illyric Islands, which at least exchanged an equable and constitutional tyranny for the multiform and capricious oppression of the Pirates of the Adriatic and of the petty despots of Croatia; how, in his time, the Republic not only acquired the sovereignty of that sea, of which her position seemed to point her out as the Mistress and the Guardian, but became a distinguished member of the European Confederacy; and how the Doge curbed the inroads of the

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 232). [2] Lebeau (xiii. p. 200).

Narentines, and taught them to tremble at the name of Venice. It is time to turn to his works of peace.

In the course of two centuries, a large portion of the town of Grado had fallen in ruins, partly owing to the gradual process of natural decay, and partly to the deleterious atmosphere of the Lagoon. The Doge entirely rebuilt and refortified the town at his own expense, and under the western tower he chose a suitable plot of ground, on which he erected a residence for himself. To the same munificent hand several of the public edifices in the other Islands were indebted for their restoration or embellishment. The Ducal Palace in the capital received important additions: and at Citta Nuova, the profuseness of Orseolo again displayed itself in the construction of another house for his occasional occupation, with a private chapel adjoining. It was by these means that the family to which this Prince belonged acquired power and popularity in their native city, and that the Republic rose to that greatness and world-wide renown, which led foreign Potentates to feel that their dignity was neither lessened nor compromised by intermarriage with the offspring or kin of the chief magistrate of the Venetians. In 998, Hicela Orseolo, the Doge's daughter, wedded Stephen, the nephew, and ultimately the successor, of the King of Croatia; his second son, Ottone, was betrothed to the sister of the King of Hungary; and his eldest son Giovanni was united, about the year 1005, to Maria, the daughter of Romanus Argyrus, and the niece of Basilius

and Constantine, the joint Emperors of the East.[1] The nuptials of Maria Argyra and Giovanni Orseolo were solemnized at Constantinople with the same pomp and splendour as was customary at the bridal of the Cæsars; the Patriarch of the Greek Church, having pronounced his blessing on the youthful couple, placed on the brows of each a golden diadem; and their Majesties, desirous of conferring on their nephew some signal mark of distinction, created him a Greek patrician. After the celebration of the ceremony, and the accompanying festivities which were extended over a term of three days, the Prince returned with his bride to Venice, where he presented Maria to her future father; and amid the general enthusiasm which prevailed on this auspicious occasion, the latter was invited by the people to admit his eldest son to a share in the chief authority, and to declare him his successor.[2]

But shortly after the association of Giovanni, Venice was visited by an unforeseen and awful calamity.[3] In 1006, a comet appeared in the heavens, and the Islands were desolated by the simultaneous ravages of plague and famine which, in the course of a few weeks, decimated her scanty population:[4] and among the victims of the epidemic, were Giovanni himself and his youthful consort, who were laid side by side in the

[1] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 113). [2] Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 552).
[3] Sagorninus (*Chron.* 117).
[4] "Quinto decimo Ducis anno," says Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 47), "fames et mortalitas tanta fuit in Venetiâ, et per totam pæne orbem, ut vacantes sepulchris cum mortuis obruerentur."

same vault; in order that the ashes of those who had been united in life might mingle in death. The loss of the child who had been the earliest heir of his House and name, and on whom he had confidently counted as his successor, was a cruel trial of the fortitude of the bereaved parent; his energy and spirit were broken by such a sudden and severe affliction, and although the Venetians hastened, in their turn, to afford every solace in their power to one who, in the hour of their distress, had exhibited such kind and anxious concern, and although they prevailed on him to associate his second son the Count of Ragusa, the illustrious Orseolo survived Giovanni scarcely more than a twelvemonth. This eminent man was, at the time of his death (1008), only in his forty-seventh year; and so deep were the reverence and love which were borne to him by every class of the community, that his son Ottone, who was not more than two-and-twenty,[1] was allowed by general acquiescence to remain in sole possession of the chief magistracy. Nor did the new Doge prove himself unworthy of the national confidence, and of such a father.

It must appear strange that, by the will of the late Doge, an entire third of his vast property was declared applicable to the support of the *Feste Delle Marie*,[1] which had now acquired considerable importance and popularity. Another portion was divided among his six children, his consort Maria, who survived her husband, having taken the vow of chastity, and become

[1] Sagorninus contemp. (*Chron.* 110).

a recluse in one of the Venetian convents. The residue was distributed among several churches and charitable institutions. Testamentary records, such as the foregoing document, are most useful aids to history, inasmuch as they afford an insight, which it might be otherwise difficult to obtain, into the social state of Venice during the earlier ages of the commonwealth, no less than into the moral tone which prevailed at the same epoch; and the present instrument especially, considered in connexion with the large sums which he had expended in public works during his lifetime,[1] will enable us to appreciate the amplitude of the private means of the second Orseolo.

On the parent of the late Doge, whose adventure with the Gascon abbot forms such a romantic episode in the annals of the tenth century, posterity has consented to bestow the title of Orseolo the Holy; his more celebrated descendant may, with at least equal propriety, be distinguished as Orseolo *the Magnificent.*

Upon his accession, Ottone espoused the sister of the King of Hungary, to whom he had plighted his faith some time before; and on the decease of the venerable Vitali Sanudo in 1019, Orso Orseolo, Bishop of Tor-

[1] "Hanc meam dispositionem," says the testator, "firmam et inconvulsam stare perpetuis temporibus volo, ita ut nemo successorum meorum Ducum, neque subditus sibi populus, temerariâ voluntate de prædicto numero diminuere præsumat, neque aliud, quàm à me constitutum est facere. Si quis hoc facere presumpserit," he continues, "habeat sibi in contrarium Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, et sub anathemate 318 Patrum constitutus permaneat, et cum improvido Christi proditore *infernali damnetur incendio*, et nunquam suam mereatur implere voluntatem."—*Sansovino* (*V. D.* xi. 482).

cello, was raised to the primacy, the vacant see being allowed to devolve on their younger brother Vitali. Hicela, one of the daughters of the late Doge, was already united to the nephew of the King of Croatia: his other daughter, Felicia, became, shortly afterward, sister-superior of the Abbey of San Antonio di Torcello. The fortunes of the House of Orseolo were in their zenith.

Cervia and Loredo, which were unjustly transferred by Otho II., in 982, to the adjoining town of Cavarzero, from the Republic, of which they had formed an integral portion since the days of Luitprand the Lombard King, had, it will be remembered, been recovered by Venice toward the close of the last century, and, at the same time, the pretensions of the Cavarzerese had been declared wholly groundless and void. Yet, in 1016, a similar claim was advanced by Peter, bishop of Adria; and he supported it by taking military possession of the places in question. The indignation of the Doge at this unwarrantable act of aggression was excessive; his vengeance was speedy and terrible. A town, that had once held the dominion of the Gulf, which still bore its name, was all but levelled with the ground; the whole vicinity was abandoned to pillage and sack; and the warlike churchman, who, on the approach of Ottone and his troops, had endeavoured to effect his escape, was captured and conducted to Rialto where, in the presence of the National Arrengo, he abjured humbly all intention of repeating the outrage.[1]

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. ii.); Muratori (*Dissertationes Medii Ævi*, vol. 1,

Two years later, Orseolo III. was forced to mediate between the Dalmatian Colonies and his relative the King of Croatia, who had begun to make inroads in the direction of Zara. The Doge judged rightly, that too long a continuance of this evil would be extremely prejudicial to the interests of his Commune, by tending to weaken the confidence of the Dalmatians in her protecting power. He accordingly prepared a naval force without delay, crossed the Adriatic, surprised the Croatian troops in the act of spoliation, and drove them back into their own territory. Each fief reiterated, on that occasion, its oath of allegiance; and Ottone, who eyed with reasonable suspicion the movements of Cresimir,[1] devoted the summer of 1018 to a cruise of observation along the Dalmatian coast.[2]

Ragusa alone dared to decline the yoke which, under the temporary influence of intestine agitation, as well perhaps as of treachery and intrigue, she had been persuaded to accept, or even to solicit, at the hands of Orseolo II. in the preceding century (998); and the Doge thought it prudent to accede to the recognition of her municipal independence, with the simple reservation of a right to the triennial nomination of her Podesta or Count (1017). Owing their origin, like Venice, to the irruption in the seventh century of the northern hordes; swayed, as Venice was herself also

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pp. 241–2), who publishes the text of the instrument which was signed by the Bishop; it bears date the 7th June, 1017.

[1] Cresimir had recently succeeded his eldest brother Dircislaus.

[2] Lucius (*De Regno D. et C.* lib. ii. ch. vi.).

swayed, by a corrupt aristocracy, resembling, perhaps unconsciously imitating, the latter in many of their political institutions,[1] the Ragusans prided themselves on an enjoyment of liberty, extending indeed, like that of the Venetians, over a long series of years, but subject, like that of the Genoese, to frequent checks and interruptions. Exposed to factious jealousy within and to hostile jealousy without, the internal condition and external relations of this small republic were constantly undergoing change and modification; now she contrived to shake off for a moment the yoke of the Signory, and to feel a spasm of freedom; now again the weaker yielded to the stronger, and the Signory fitted the yoke with new rivets to her chafed neck. Many were the vicissitudes of fortune which she had experienced, when in 1358 Louis of Hungary procured by his powerful interposition her severance from her insular masters for ever.

Whether the separation was productive of any advantage to the Dependency, may be questioned. At present, she shares the general fate of those around her; and nothing can be more miserable than the actual aspect of the Dalmatian province. In many places the population has decreased by one-half; arts and manufactures have been neglected; commerce has suffered a general decline; the old national customs, of which the people were once so fond and so proud, have fallen into disuse. Of the former opulence and splendour of the larger and more im-

[1] Salvcrte (*Civilisation: Raguse*, p. 253, *et seq.*)

portant towns, few traces now remain. The palaces of Spalatro are in ruins, and the grass grows in the streets of Ragusa.

On the decease of Domenigo Gradenigo, Bishop of Olivolo, in 1025, his House prevailed on the Synod to nominate as his successor his nephew and namesake, who had scarcely attained his eighteenth year;[1] and the Doge and the Patriarch of Grado were solicited to give the necessary sanction. But on the contrary, the strongest disapproval was expressed by Ottone and his brother of the election of a youth so inexperienced to so high and so sacred a dignity. The indignation of the Gradenigi at the refusal was unmeasured; and they determined to leave no means untried of marking their resentment, and henceforth to treat all other objects as subsidiary to the humiliation of the too-powerful House of Orseolo. With this object, they naturally hastened to canvass and conciliate every serviceable influence. The Flabenigi, and several other families of high station, were successively induced by various motives to join the ranks of the new Opposition. Pepo, Patriarch of Aquileia, and the avowed enemy of the Patriarch of Grado, was not solicited in vain to give them his support; and the intimacy of the latter with the Emperor Conrad II. encouraged a hope, that the Court of Pavia would lend the partizans of Pepo its potent aid. At the same time, the basest and most poison-

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. i. p. 18); Caroldo (*Historiè Venete*, p. 51); *Cronaca Altinate juxta Codicem Dresdensem*, p. 20 (*Arch. Stor. Ital.* v. 5).

ous reports were circulated in regard to the two Orseoli;[1] the most uncharitable construction was placed on their passed conduct; the worst views were taken of their ulterior designs. One of the most liberal and moderate of Venetian princes was gravely represented as meditating the subversion, at no distant period, of republican principles and popular freedom. It was found intolerable that, in a Free Commonwealth, a single family should be allowed to exercise so much influence so ill; and it was said that the time had arrived for abolishing a system which was gradually changing the government into an hereditary tyranny. There is, perhaps, no effect which specious eloquence will not exert over the volatile mind of a multitude, always apt to sacrifice the principles of honour and humanity to the whim of the moment. In spite of their grossness and want of foundation, the aspersions which the Gradenigi cast upon the Doge and his brother gained general credit among the populace; and the two Orseoli, driven by the fear of an insurrection from a country where they had fallen into such sudden and unmerited odium, were forced to take refuge in one of the maritime towns of Dalmatia.[2] Their departure enabled the Gradenigi to induct their relative into the see of Olivolo, and at the same time afforded Pepo the hope of accomplishing his secret design.

[1] The animosity of the Gradenigi does not seem to have extended to Vitali Orseolo, Bishop of Torcello, of whom we hear nothing during these movements against his two brothers.

[2] Romanin (i. pp. 296–7).

Assured, in a recent interview with Conrad, that his Majesty was too favourably disposed toward the unfortunate House[1] to countenance the adoption of any hostile measures against the Republic on account of the metropolitanate; and fully conscious of the impossibility of maintaining himself without external support in a State where he commanded no real sympathy or influence, the Patriarch of Aquileia, however, determined to confine his attempts, for the present at least, to a predatory inroad into the Dogado; and a few days after the flight of Ottone and Orso Orseolo, he appeared before the walls of Grado, demanding in a loud voice justice for his *brother* the Primate, and for his *friend* the Doge. The tone and attitude of Pepo might surely have excited some misgivings in the mind of the citizens. His feigned attachment to two men, both of whom, it was generally believed, that he regarded with the deepest aversion, and his profession of concern for their misfortune, should have sufficed to betray him. Yet so masterly was his hypocrisy, or so complete was their infatuation, that the Gradese consented, after some hesitation, to open their gates to his troops. The fatal and foolish mistake cost them dear. Their town was condemned to spoliation; their walls were levelled; their altars were violated. In their greediness after plunder, the soldiers of Aquileia spared neither God nor man; the treasures, which the wealthy Patriarch Fortunato had, in the beginning of the ninth century,

[1] Filiasi (vi. p. 309).

lavished on the church of Santa Eufemia, narrowly escaped their sacrilegious rapacity; and Pepo, having collected the booty, and established a garrison in the place, returned to Aquileia in triumph.[1] The news of this abominable outrage soon reached Venice. The indignation of the people was unbridled. The leaders of the Opposition, who were generally, though, perhaps, unjustly, accused of instigating Pepo to the act, were forced in their turn to fly to Treviso. The Orseoli were solemnly recalled; and the first care of the latter was to drive the Aquileian troops from the metropolitanate.

But the Faction on whose expectations the triumphal return of Ottone and his brother inflicted so severe a blow, had now for some time acknowledged as its leader[2] Domenigo Flabenigo, a man wanting indeed in those high qualities which are held to constitute greatness, yet of superior parts, and possessing in an eminent degree the two essential attributes of a good partizan, extreme tenacity of purpose and extreme narrowness of view. Flabenigo was, from interest or inclination, inveterately hostile to the engrossing policy of the Orseoli; and under such a chief, the party adverse to the reigning family speedily became more violent and formidable than ever.

It was true that the original ground of quarrel between the Houses of Orseolo and Gradenigo had

[1] Rubeis (*Monumenta Ecclesiæ Aquilejensis*, ch. lv. p. 526); *Vitæ Patriarcharum Aquilejensium*, p. 11.

[2] P. Giustiniani, *Historia* (King's MSS. 148, fol. 36).

been abandoned; the right of the nephew of the late Bishop of Olivolo to his uncle's surplice was now tacitly at least recognised; and many were doubtless of opinion that the continued clamours of the Opposition sprang merely from a capricious spirit of resistance to lawful authority. But the fact was that, out of an incident in itself comparatively trivial, had arisen a question of infinitely graver importance. The disputed succession to the see of Olivolo, and the violent dissensions which it ultimately bred, had given a turn to the current of public thought which was barely anticipated by the Gradenigi; and the subject which was at present occupying in reality the attention of Flabenigo and his party, was nothing less than the necessity of placing some severe and permanent curb on the Ducal authority. Still, although it was now beginning to attract more general notice, the revision of the Constitution was scarcely to be considered a novel point of debate. It was, on the contrary, a question which, though it had never yet been thoroughly ventilated, had been probably mooted, at broken intervals, since the days of Angelo Badoer (809–27).

At the period, however, when Badoer was placed at the head of affairs in 809, the Republic had just emerged from a great political crisis. The battle of Albiola had been fought and won. The nation was overflowing with gratitude to the conqueror of Pepin. Besides, the evil days of Galla, Monegaro, Fabriciaco, and the two later Galbaii, were then still fresh in the recollection; and the Venetians, happy to escape on

any terms from fifty years of feeble and odious tyranny, gladly and fearlessly reposed their confidence in the House of Participazio. Nor was that confidence misplaced. The Badoeri might have been guilty, in a few instances, of arbitrary acts; but their policy was, generally speaking, singularly equitable and energetic; aiming always at the promotion of the national prosperity, and tending to exalt the national renown. Thus those princes became popular and powerful. But their generation had now passed away. Two centuries had elapsed since Angelo Badoer, the first of his name, was laid in the vaults of San Zaccaria; and in that long interval a wonderful change had been wrought in the condition of the people whom he once ruled. In that interval, the Commune of Venice had increased largely in wealth, population, and territory; places which were known to the Badoeri only as the resorts of outcasts and freebooters, had become her fiefs and her tributaries; the few hundred fugitives who, in the fifth century, found a precarious shelter in the Lagoon from the fury of the Huns, had multiplied a hundredfold; and the Venetian dominion, which even in the time of Tribuno Memo comprised merely the Dogado itself, now extended in the form of an irregular triangle from Cervia to Primiero, and from Primiero to Curzola, the last of the Illyric group. There was the same relation between the Venetians of the eleventh century and those Venetians whom Angelo knew, as there had been between the latter and that primeval society of fishermen and salt-gatherers, which enjoyed

an obscure freedom, and earned a meagre subsistence, among the marshes of Caorlo, before the Lombard name was heard in Italy.

Yet, while it may be perhaps expected that the entire community would have benefited by this change, the truth seems to be that the only class which gained by it in reality was the Patrician Order. The *Maggiori*, as they used to be termed, had indeed gradually assumed the appearance of a numerous, intelligent, and wealthy body; the political schism which had taken place at an early period between them and the lower Estates of the Commune (*Mediòcri* and *Minori*) was gradually widening; and by a similarly steady though slow process the latter were losing influence, and, relatively, caste. This apparent problem admits an easy solution. To that exclusive and engrossing policy which the original settlers in the Lagoon were led, by the unique configuration and narrow area of their new country, to adopt, their descendants had closely and systematically adhered. Nor did that conservatism cost them much labour. In a State like Venice, where navigation supplied, in a large measure, the place of agriculture, and where the attention of the multitude was regularly diverted by their callings as pilots, mariners, and fishermen, from the management and progress of public affairs, it was not difficult for an Oligarchy, so long as it was true to itself, to retain the governing prerogative and the succession to the Ducal office in its own hands; and it is accordingly found that the very tribunitial families which ruled the Republic in the sixth

and seventh centuries, still preserved in the eleventh their political ascendency. A few of the *Mediocri* might have risen to the higher Estate; it is imagined that many more had lost their social caste, and had been merged in the lower one. While the commonalty were forced to confine themselves to subordinate or menial vocations, the trade, the property,[1] and the honours of the State were still enjoyed as a monopoly by the Memi, the Badoeri, the Sanudi, the Contarini, and several others; every merchantman which left the harbours of Pilo and Castello for Dalmatia or the East, was fitted out at their expense, and laden with their exports; and it is no exaggeration to say, that every building in Venice bore testimony to their wealth and their magnificence. They founded churches,[2] they endowed religious institutions, they established charities of every kind. The three principal monuments in the City—the Palace of Saint Mark, the Basilica, and the Public Hospital—were the work of a single member of their order, Orseolo I.; his example was closely followed by his more illustrious son, to whom the Venetians owed the restoration of Grado, the architectural embellishment of several islands, and the erection of a new Palace at Citta Nuova; and, although the identical principle ultimately led to the fall of the Republic, it is incon-

[1] Sansovino (lib. xiii. p. 558); Paolo Morosini (*Storia*, lib. v. p. 118); A. Navagiéro (*Storia*, p. 963); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 293); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 501).

[2] Sansovino (*Cron. Ven.* pp. 9–12, 15–19, &c.); ibid. (*Venetia Descritta, passim*).

testable that it was the principle of oligarchy, seconded by the love of enterprise and by the spirit of commerce, which formed the basis of her greatness and civilization.

At first, it is possible that the soil of Venice may have been parcelled out among a tolerably large number of small proprietors; but at all events, by process of time, the estates in the Dogado were almost entirely absorbed by a few of the leading families, or became vested by the piety of landholders, by grant from the Commune, or by prescription, in the hands of various ecclesiastical corporations, the greater proportion of which held their possessions by a species of tenure similar to that known in the English law as frankalmoign, or free alms. The islands of San Giacomo del Paludo antiently belonged to the House of Badoer. The Memi possessed large estates in Canalreggio and elsewhere. The streets of San Moisé, San Bragola, and San Pantaleone, formed part of the patrimony of the House of Michieli. At San Silvestre the Cornari were extensive proprietors. The Marcurii or Quintavalle owned a large portion of Olivolo; while the Polani were in possession of the whole of Gemelle or Zimole. A portion, at least, of the Ziani estates is known to have consisted of houses at San Giuliano, in the Merceria. Lastly, the great Abbey of San Zaccaria extended at one period over a considerable portion of the Rialto, which originally occupied a very narrow space; and the Brolio, or Broglio, formed at this time (1025) part of the abbey garden.

As a body, the patricians eyed with increasing disgust a monarchy established on a popular basis, and decorated with a popular title. They were growing more and more estranged from a form of government which, under the best auspices, acknowledged no distinction between a Morosini and the rower of his gondola, and which ended too often in faction or in despotism; and it was with greater envy than pride that they saw men who were but yesterday members of the same class and of the same commonwealth, affect to-day regal pomp and magnificence, and ally themselves in marriage with the daughters of Kings. Nor was it unnatural, that a section of the community, which had always done so much to advance the national welfare and glory, should thus desire to arrogate to itself the sovereign power, to transfer the reins of government from the hands of an individual to those of the order to which he belonged, and to get rid, by degrees at least, of a system under which six or seven families[1] were controlling the destinies of the Republic from one generation to another, with all but royal authority, and by all but hereditary right.

These or similar views were entertained by Flabenigo and his partizans, who were content to barter for the privilege of governing as a Body the more or less remote chance of governing alone. But they were, like

[1] The reign of the Houses of Badoer, Sanudo, Memo, Orseolo, Tradenigo, Calbani, and Anafesto, extended over a period of 267 years; and the two first-named families, at least, were *Tribunes* in the time of Theodoric, the Gothic King (489).

all views which were brought to a precocious maturity in the hotbed of faction, and were shaped by a party to its own private and immediate ends, exaggerated, violent, and malignant. The opinions held by this patrician Cabal were indeed rational as well as rising opinions; but the fulness of time had not yet come. The Popular Element was still too strong; the Aristocratic Element was still too incompact. Nevertheless, a discerning eye might have recognised in this incipient movement the first stage of a great Social and Political Revolution. The symptoms of such a change were not to be detected perhaps by careless or superficial observers: for the external aspect of things remained nearly unaltered. The forms of election and deliberation had not lost in any degree their republican attribute. The meetings of the National Arrengo were not less frequent, its authority was not less respectable, than in the days of Anafesto. The State, which the successors of the Doge Paolo Luca were called to govern, continued to be styled a *Commonwealth*; and the people, over whom they were placed in authority, were honoured by the name of *Fellow-citizens*. But while the surface was so smooth, and so excellently calculated to soothe the prejudices, and to disarm the suspicions, of the vulgar, there was a strong and steady undercurrent which was slowly running in a widely different direction. That direction was toward Aristocracy.

The extravagance of their views and arguments, however, did not prevent the Opposition from carrying their proximate purpose. The portion of the

community, which it was the interest of Flabenigo and his Party to win over to their side, was not apt to examine too narrowly the soundness of the opinions which they received among them, or to weigh their value too nicely in the scale. At the same time, experience had shown that, in an almost even-handed contest between two adverse factions, the bias of the populace to either was sufficient to turn the balance of power; and the Patrician Flabenigo, aware of the necessity of having this advantage on his side, determined, after the recal of the Doge and the Primate, to enlist every means within his reach of poisoning the public mind of Venice against the Orseoli and their supporters, for whom he had now imbibed such a hatred as men only, whose lot is cast in societies perpetually rent by intestine discord, can feel without compunction, and avow without a blush.

The intrigues of Flabenigo obtained a more favourable result in some points of view, than even that schemer himself might have anticipated. The desired impression was conveyed by his false and slanderous disseminations to the mind of the multitude. Ottone was suspected and accused of aspiring to absolutism; and that Prince, who had just reason to upbraid with ingratitude a nation, which his father and his family had served so well, was once more constrained to seek among strangers the safety and repose, which were denied to him in the country of his birth. The illustrious exile found an appropriate and welcome

reception at the Court of the Emperor Constantine Ducas IX.,[1] whose heart was touched by the sight of one so young and so unhappy.

Singular as it may seem, however, Flabenigo failed to attain his great end, which was of course nothing less than the succession to the vacant magistracy; that high office was bestowed on Pietro Barbolano (or Centranigo), a nobleman whose family,[2] of Cesenese origin, had settled in the Lagoons at a very early date (1026), and Flabenigo himself was exiled. The fact was that Flabenigo was not generally liked. His violent politics were not improbably distasteful to all men of independent views and moderate opinions. Besides, there were many quarters, in which his malignant persecution of the Orseoli was exclusively ascribed to motives of private pique and personal ambition; and this grave imputation, which was not groundless, had naturally rendered him obnoxious, not only to the family and kindred of the banished Doge, but to all those who, in condemning the existing form of government, were actuated by a pure and conscientious patriotism, and whose attacks were, in consequence, directed against the system which he represented, and not against Ottone individually.

A parallel between Orseolo III. and Richard II. of England may be perhaps accounted fanciful: yet it is no less curious to remark the resemblance which those Princes bore one to the other, in the circum-

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. ii.); Lebeau (xiii. p. 234).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 421) calls them Centranici, olim *Cenanii*.

stances which attended their accession, and in the character which marked their reign. Both were called to the management of affairs at a very early age, and both were carried to the throne by the respect due to the memory of a father and a grandfather. The son of the Black Prince, and the grandson of the greatest of England's hero-kings, Richard, by his youth and inexperience, unconsciously gave the first decided impulse to the progress of political liberty in his own country; at Venice, the youth and inexperience of the descendant of Orseolo the Holy and Orseolo the Magnificent, led the first perceptible step to the downfal of that liberty. In the latter case, it was during the six-and-twenty years embraced between 1008 and 1034, that adventitious causes laid the foundation of an Aristocratic government and narrowed the basis of the Constitution; in the former, it was during the six-and-twenty years between 1372 and 1399 that the English Commons began to insist somewhat loudly, in consequence of similar causes, on their recognition as a co-ordinate Estate in the body politic. In the constitutional history of the respective countries, these epochs become, on such account, particularly interesting and important.

A curious account has been preserved by Sanudo of a transaction, in which Pietro Barbolano had been concerned a considerable time before his accession to power. It appears that so far back as the year 992, having been intrusted, in conjunction with another nobleman, Pietro Giustiniani, with a diplo-

matic mission to the Byzantine Court by Orseolo II., the future Doge there saw the holy remains of Saint Saba, and was filled by an instantaneous desire to secure for his own country such an invaluable prize. Barbolano accordingly entered into conversation with the officials who had charge of the Saint, and eventually concluded a bargain with them for the transfer. On the night which had been fixed for taking the remains down to the ambassador's ship, which was then about to leave the Horn, it was unusually stormy, the rain falling in torrents; and the Priests, alarmed at the omen, or perhaps not displeased at the pretext, demurred to the removal, under such circumstances, of the chest which contained the sacred bones. But Barbolano, who was on the spot with his two sons and several servants, soon overcame this difficulty, by ordering the load to be raised and carried down to the water-side. Having safely arrived aboard, the anchors were weighed, the sails were set; and the wind being favourable, the happy possessor of Saint Saba soon descried the Venetian shores. On reaching Venice, Barbolano immediately ordered the chest to be transferred from the ship to a gondola, and to be conveyed to his own house, next to the Church of San Antonino, at Castello. But so enormous had become the weight of the load, that no human means were found to lift it; and, at the same moment, the bell at the Campanile began to peal with such extraordinary violence (in the absence of any visible agency) as to threaten destruction to

the very tower. Hereupon, the people assembling in large numbers to ascertain what had happened, the devout Barbolano, and those who were with him, fell on their knees, praising God, and exclaiming, "We will carry it into the church: for the will of the Saviour of Mankind has been declared that the body shall be located in the shrine dedicated to His servant Saint Antoninus." The chest, which was now once more as light as ever, was hereupon forthwith deposited in the gondola, and conducted to San Antonino, where it was laid on the altar. Then, and then only, the bell of the Campanile desisted from its spontaneous ringing; and over the remains was seen to hover a Dove of miraculous whiteness of plumage which, after the celebration of *Te Deum* and the other services, vanished from the sight. On the conclusion of Divine Worship, a new altar for San Saba was erected behind the choir, near that of San Antonino, and the bones were placed in the reliquary of the church. It is added, that on the evening of this auspicious day, the Curé of San Antonino, happening to walk in his garden, in which he had not long since planted some rose-trees, marvelled not a little to observe among the flowers a rose of surpassing beauty; and the good man hesitated not to associate the fair vision with the miracle of which he had just been a witness, looking upon it as a symbol of that yet fairer flower, which had been so recently transplanted from the soil of Constantinople to that of Venice.[1]

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, pp. 470–1).

The Doge Barbolano, who had served on the embassy to the Byzantine Court in 992, and whose name has been rendered familiar by the strange legend of San Saba, probably owed his present elevation to a Faction, of which he was the Organ and the Chief. He succeeded to the throne at a moment of unusual difficulty. The whole nation was in a ferment. The violence of party-spirit was at its height. A peevish and refractory humour pervaded all classes of society. A general feeling was gaining ground, that a grievous wrong had been done to the son of the illustrious Orseolo. Many regretted, on calm reflexion, the course which they had taken, in the heat of passion, toward Ottone; and there was already, in several influential circles, a secret longing for the restoration of that Prince. It was in vain that Barbolano endeavoured to conciliate spirits by a just and energetic rule, or that he twice repelled the predatory inroads of the Patriarch Pepo of Aquileia; the people were angry and dissatisfied; and some even went so far as to taunt the Doge with being privy to the recent plot against his predecessor. It was equally in vain that, to flatter the Opposition, he recalled Flabenigo from exile. The Opposition was in no want of a leader; nor was that leader tolerant of a rival. This wavering state of the public temper, which was eminently propitious to the Orseolists, was due to causes which are constantly arising among a jealous aristocracy. It sprang in some degree from the coexistence of three turbulent factions. But it

was mainly attributable to the foretaste of the serious perplexity, in which the continuance of Barbolano in power threatened to involve his country. On the one hand, it was announced, that Conrad II. had declined to renew the commercial charter of the Republic, unless Ottone Orseolo was recalled. The Venetian flag was, in consequence, excluded from Padua, Treviso, Concordia, Aquileia, and many other sea and river ports of the Peninsula; and the bold and menacing attitude of Pepo, who still hovered on the skirts of the Lagoon,[1] bred a suspicion that the sentiments of his patron toward the Venetian Commune were undergoing a complete change. At the same time the Byzantine Court, with which the Orseoli had lately established relations of such intimate friendship, and where their cause was still further strengthened by the elevation of Romanus Argyrus to the throne in 1026, assumed an equally peremptory tone. The chrysoboles of 998 were declared to be revoked. The ports of the Euxine and the Archipelago were closed against the standard of St. Mark. These coercive measures led the Venetians to the adoption of a course consonant with their wishes no less than their interests. A fresh revulsion of opinion succeeded. Barbolano was compelled to abdicate, and to take the cowl (1026).[2] Vitali Orseolo was sent to Constanti-

[1] Paolo Morosini (lib. iii. pp. 87–88); Muratori (vi. p. 84); Filiasi (vi. p. 311).

[2] Barbolano was buried, by his own special desire, in the church of San Antonino, with which the Doge had such peculiar associations. His tomb was in front of the door of the *sacrarium*. Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 471).

nople in quest of Ottone; and his elder brother, the Primate, having been declared, in the interval, Vice-Doge of the Republic,[1] the unfortunate Flabenigo, who had hoped at length to profit by his machinations, found himself once more under the necessity of withdrawing to Treviso.

But before the Bishop reached his destination, Ottone had expired, a prey to grief and mortification. The Doge was scarcely in his fortieth year; and it was to be remarked as a circumstance equally mournful and strange, that he was the second of his family who, within a comparatively short period, had ended his days in a remote region. In 997 (Ottone was a child at the time), that Orseolo, whom men called the Holy, was deposited by the pious Brethren of St. Benedict, among whom he had spent his declining years, in the vaults of Cusano. It was little imagined then that the day would come when the House, which the glorious achievements of Orseolo II. had rendered incomparably the most powerful in the Republic, would be persecuted and proscribed; and any one who should have affected in 998 to prognosticate that his son would be driven, in 1030, from his native land by a large and influential faction, and that he would die in exile on the shore of the Bosphorus, would have excited merely ridicule or merriment. Yet such was actually his fate. Ottone was buried at Constantinople, his brother, the Bishop of Torcello, assisting at the obsequies; and

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. iv.); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 474); Muratori (vi. p. 84).

fully eight weeks elapsed before his countrymen were made aware of the heavy loss which they had sustained. The effect which the unexpected announcement produced was electrical. Profound was the sorrow of the Venetians, when the news of his melancholy end recalled to their recollection the services of his father and his grandfather, as well as his own estimable qualities; and there were few even among those who had been loudest in clamouring for his expatriation who did not now accuse themselves of ingratitude. It was amid this general and continued reaction in favour of the House of Orseolo, that the Primate was invited, as a high mark of public condolence, to assume the sceptre. Orso acceded with extreme reluctance to the request; and during the succeeding fourteen months, he united, in his own person, the secular and spiritual dignities. But at the close of that period, the churchman found the double trust too arduous; and having begged permission to lay aside the berretta, he returned to the discharge of his sacerdotal functions (1033).

His resignation was treated by his youngest brother Domenigo, who was, at this time, the leader of a small, yet influential faction, as a favourable opportunity for realizing his ambitious dreams; and without pausing to procure the popular suffrages, he summarily declared himself Doge, and entered into possession of Saint Mark's. The result of that foolish and arbitrary step was curious and instructive. The indignation of the people at a proceeding which they justly considered

as a violation of the constitution, and an insolent infringement of their peculiar prerogative, was excessively violent. The Opposition exultingly caught and echoed the popular cry: "The chief magistracy of the Republic was not," they said, "to be converted into a patrimony for the Orseoli;" and the Doge of a day,[1] having vainly essayed to make a stand against immeasurably superior numbers, was ultimately forced to escape from the Palace by stealth, and to seek shelter at Ravenna.[2] The grossly injudicious conduct of Domenigo Orseolo completely marred the fortunes which he had intended to arrest in their fall, and to re-establish in his own person: for, under the influence of a mixed impulse of alarm and disgust at the arbitrary usurpation of the Dogate, the Arrengo bestowed the vacant berretta on the agitator Flabenigo, who was escorted from Treviso to Venice by a solemn deputation of the nobles and the clergy (1033).

On his investiture, Flabenigo hastened to carry into execution a long-cherished design of endeavouring to procure a sentence of ostracism against the odious House of Orseolo, or at least a formal declaration, that that family was henceforth incapacitated from holding any public office. In this attempt he was unsuccessful. At one moment indeed it seems that an edict of pro-

[1] P. Giustiniani (King's MSS. 148, p. 37), and *Chroniche Veneziane*, vol. i. fol. 84 (Add. MSS. 8579).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate juxta Codicem Dresdensem*, p. 61: *Arch. Stor. Ital.* App. v.; Dandolo (lib. ix.).

scription was meditated. It is not improbable that the motion of Flabenigo received the zealous support of the faction adverse to the late reigning House. But the decree never passed; at the same time a strong anxiety was awakened to apply some enduring remedy to an evil, the growth of which had been brought by recent events so prominently before the public eye.[1] This evil, however, which was the increasing though almost perfect resemblance of the Dogate to an hereditary monarchy, and the gradual, though almost complete, absorption of all political influence by an oligarchy of six or seven families, was neither easily nor promptly curable. It was a distemper which the State had been slowly contracting during several centuries; it was felt and feared that several centuries must elapse before it was wholly subdued; and the utmost remedy which men were able to suggest at present, was a curtailment of the Ducal authority. It may be hard to believe that the Doge himself took the initiative in a question which affected him personally, no less than those who came after him, and which must, of necessity dim the splendour of the dignity which it had cost him such infinite labour to attain. Yet Flabenigo might not improbably deem himself pledged by the circumstances under which he had accepted office, to espouse the cause of political Reform, even when the

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, pp. 475–99); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 290); Vianelli (*Storia de Vescovi di Malamocco e Chioggia*, part vi. p. 53, 8vo, Paris, 1677); Zanetti (*Moneta Veneziana*, p. 54); Romanin (i. 303–5, 373–8, 392–4–5, 401).

pursuit of such a course became altogether antagonistic to his own interests. Besides, there is strong reason to doubt whether the Doge had either any children, or any near kindred, whom he might associate, and to whom he might bequeath the crown; and if this was really the case, it is not unlikely that he may have acted under a feeling, that it was placed within his power to earn a cheap reputation for patriotism by introducing a law which should impose on his successors the same restraint which nature had imposed on him. It was resolved, however, in Arrengo, at his suggestion, that Association and Hereditary Succession, which were equally mischievous outgrowths from the Dogate, should be abrogated, and that the Tribunitial Duumvirate, eligible by the Doge, which had apparently fallen into desuetude, should be restored in the persons of Domenigo Selvo and Vitali Faliero Dodoni, whose sanction and concurrence were pronounced essential in future to the validity of all public acts.[1] His Serenity was, besides, strongly recommended in any intricate matter of statecraft to seek the advice of a Giunta of *Savii (Pregadi)*.[2]

It is to be remarked that, although they appeared to be great retrenchments of the Ducal Prerogative, the two latter innovations were, in reality, of very secondary importance. For, so long as the election of the council of two gastaldi, or Tribunes, which was thus once more reconstituted after long disuse, was

[1] L. de Monacis (fol. 42); Sandi (ii. p. 378).

[2] Similar to the *Richiesti* of Florence.

suffered to depend entirely on the Crown, and the Doge was left at liberty to choose among his own kindred or adherents, it is sufficiently patent that they would hardly be allowed to exercise in general any influence over his conduct or policy, which they might not otherwise have exercised as members of the same family or of the same faction; and so far as the third point is concerned, the *recommendation* to take counsel at all seasons of peril or difficulty, with those who, by their wisdom and experience, were most entitled to credit, was much less binding in its nature and much more nominal.

The reign of Flabenigo afforded the Republic ten years of profound calm, at home as well as abroad; and during that space of time the Venetians were indebted to him, in addition to the changes which he wrought in their political system, for several useful and salutary measures of ecclesiastical Reform. These valuable services, and the enjoyment of a blessing which they had scarcely known since the days of Orseolo II., and which was unquestionably due in some measure to the justice and moderation of his government, must have gone far to reconcile the people at large to a man whom they long viewed with no favourable eye, and whose elevation had been a matter of policy or impulse, rather than of inclination. Nor are we entitled to suppose that the Doge Flabenigo proved himself at all unworthy of the high position which he was called to fill by the voice of the nation, and which he certainly owed, in a very large degree,

to the ill-judged or ill-advised precipitation of the last of the Orseoli. His public career was terminated only by his death in the year 1043; he was succeeded by Domenigo Contarini.[1]

In the following year (1044) Pepo appeared once more as an aggressor, and Grado was again pillaged and dismantled. The popular indignation at this fresh outrage was strongly in favour of an instant appeal to arms. Yet the Doge, in his anxiety to afford no ground for subsequent recrimination against the Republic, determined to solicit, in the first instance, the interposition of the Apostolic See. Benedict IX., who then wore the tiara, expressed his sorrow, as well as his astonishment, at the recent conduct of Pepo; he denied and cancelled the title of the Patriarch to the Gradese metropolitanate, to which he had attempted to found a claim on the alleged concession of Benedict's predecessor John XX.; and his Holiness concluded by regretting, that the Aquileian was too powerful and too obdurate to render other compensation practicable.[2] The sudden death of Pepo anticipated the result of the mission. On their return home, the Venetian deputies learned, that their troublesome enemy was no more, and that the Aqui-

[1] Contarini obtained the renewal of the mercantile charter from the Emperor Henry III., through his deputies, Domenigo Selvo and Buono Dandolo. In Harl. MSS. 4820 and 5020, Flabenigo is called *Contarini*. "Sotto questo Doge," writes Sanudo, fol. 476, "fu determinato che il Mercato in Venezia si facesse nel giorno di Sabbato, e che una Moneta, chiamata *Bisanzio* (Byzant) si dovesse spendere."

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 242); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 476).

leian troops had been driven from Grado by the Ducal forces.

A still more important event was the defection of Zara, which, in 1050, yielded to the overtures of Solomon, King of Hungary, and expelled her aged Podesta, Maffeo Giustiniani. The Venetians were apprehensive that, unless prompt measures were taken to suppress the revolt, their other colonies in Dalmatia would, in the hope of recovering their liberty,[1] follow the example of the Zaratines; they hastened therefore to avert the danger, which they felt to be impending; and a fleet, commanded by the Doge himself, was soon on its way to the rebellious fief. The latter obstinately refused to obey a summons to surrender; the Doge, having taken the town, exhibited his clemency by sparing it; and with a recommendation to the Zaratines not to incur, by a repetition of the offence, the future chastisement of the Republic, he exhorted them to respect the authority of the new Podesta, whom he gave them in the person of his own son Marco.[2]

Contarini was succeeded in 1071 by Domenigo Selvo (or Belegno), the same, perhaps, who in 1034 had, in conjunction with Vitali Faliero, been associated in authority with the Doge Flabenigo, and who, some years later, had served on the Embassy to the Court of Pavia.

[1] Lucius (*De Reg. Dalm. et Croatiæ*, lib. iv. ch. ix.); Constantine Porphyrogenita (*De Administr. Imperii*, ch. xxix.); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 89).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 476).

On the demise[1] of the Doge Contarini, a large crowd of people assembled in their gondolas and armed galleys at San Nicolo del Lido, where the bishop and his canons were celebrating a mass for the soul of the departed, and gave their suffrages to the patrician Domenigo Selvo, crying: *Noi volemo Dose Domenigo Selvo, e lo laudiamo.* Hereupon, the declared object of the national choice, who was returning from the late Doge's funeral, which he may have been invited to attend, was immediately raised from the ground, and carried on the shoulders of some of his political friends to a gondola, which was in waiting at the water-side, and in which he was conveyed to Venice. On landing, the Doge and his partizans at once directed their steps toward Saint Mark's; at a short distance from the latter, Selvo was met by the members of the Provisional Government, who embraced and congratulated him; and near the portal of the church, he was received by the ministers of the Ducal Chapel, who joined in procession. On entering Saint Mark's, Selvo, having unsandalled his feet, threw himself on his knees, and remained for some time in an attitude of prayer. Rising at length from his genuflexion, he advanced to the principal altar, where he subscribed the Promission, and accepted the great standard of the Republic. This part of the ceremonial having been

[1] Domenigo Tino (*De Electione Domini Dominici Silvii Ducis Venetiorum*), quoted by Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. xii. p. 477), by Galliciolli (*Mem.* vi. 123) *in extenso*, and Romanin (vol. i. p. 309). Tino was one of the ministers of the Ducal Chapel (*Capellani*, or, as they were afterward called, *Canonici*).

completed, his Serenity was escorted by Tino and his other chaplains to the Palace, where the oath of allegiance was tendered to him in the name of the people.

On his accession to power, the new Doge caused the doors of the Palace, and the furniture of the apartments, which had been damaged in the spoliation which followed the death of his predecessor, to be replaced. The fact, which reveals a curious state of society, presents a striking instance of a practice which very commonly prevailed on the demise of the Crown: nor was it till 1328, that any attempt was made to modify so singular and so preposterous an abuse.

Fifty years before the accession of Selvo, a colony of Northmen had founded in the Italian peninsula a new dominion and a new dynasty; and the growth of the Norman power was so rapid that, in 1080, Robert, the brother of Unfroi Guiscard,[1] the first of the Dukes of Apulia and Calabria of that line, found himself the protector of the Roman Pontiff, and the successful rival of the German Emperor of the West.[2] But the ambition of Robert Guiscard soared still higher; the effeminate languor of the Greeks and the perturbed state of Italy inspired him with a belief that it was within his power to restore, in his own person, that unity to the empire which it had possessed under Augustus; and with this gigantic scheme in contem-

[1] *Chronique de Robert Viscart* (lib. i. p. 277); Paris, 1835, 8vo.
[2] Denina (*Revoluzioni d'Italia*, ii. p. 7).

plation it was that he entered the Mediterranean in the early part of the following year, with a large fleet at his disposal, took Butrinto and Corfu, and laid siege to Durazzo.[1]

The ostensible object of the Duke in invading the Greek territories, which was the reinstatement on the throne of the lawful Emperor, Michael Ducas,[2] had however, in the meantime, been regarded with the most unfeigned alarm and anxiety by the usurper, Nicephorus Botoniates; and the latter, trembling for his personal safety, and finding in the scanty resources of the Byzantine Court no adequate means of warding off the threatened danger, had invoked the protection of the Republic; while he offered to the Doge, as a particular mark of his esteem, the hand of the Princess Theodora, the daughter of the late Emperor, Constantine Ducas XI.[3] Selvo, on his part, accepted with pleasure the offer of so honourable a marriage; and the Venetians, who, from other causes, viewed not with less apprehension the movements of Guiscard, and whose present interest it was to prop up the tottering throne of the feeble successors of Valens, were naturally predisposed to lend a favourable ear to the request of Botoniates. The betrothal of Theodora Ducas to their Chief Magistrate, and the receipt of intelligence that Robert had attempted by various artifices to wean from their fidelity the fiefs in Dalmatia,[4] which they already held by such a brittle tenure, conduced

[1] *Chronique de Robert Viscart* (lib. ii. c. 1). [2] Ibid.
[3] *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* (xvii. p. 449). [4] Filiasi (vi. p. 349).

to strengthen a half-formed determination; and in the month of August, 1081, a fleet of sixty-three sail,[1] under the personal command of Selvo, left the Lagoon for the Mediterranean, to raise the siege of Durazzo, and to protect the maritime frontier of the empire.

Selvo passed the Ionian Isles without experiencing the slightest opposition, and arrived at length off Cape Pali.[2] Here the squadron was becalmed. A few light barks were sent forward, however, to ascertain the position and movements of the enemy; and these scouts announced on their return, that the Norman fleet under Guiscard himself was floating at anchor in the bay of Durazzo, eight or nine miles distant. But so soon as he was apprised of the near approach of the Venetians, the Duke of Apulia, altogether unprepared to receive a sudden attack, and wholly unconscious of the helpless condition of his antagonist, resolved to have recourse to a temporizing policy, and his son Bohemond, to whom he confided the task of opening negotiations with Selvo, having protested to the latter that Guiscard was actuated by no feeling of ambition or hostility toward the empire, and that his sole object in invading the Greek frontier was the restoration of Michael Ducas to the throne, concluded by praying, in this undertaking, the concurrence and aid of the Republic. The

[1] Marin (ii. p. 290).

[2] Anna Comnena (*Histoire d'Alexis, traduite par Cousin*, lib. iv. p. 150); Malaterra (*Hist. Sicula*, lib. iii. ch. xxvi.); Gulielmus Apulus (*De Northmannorum gente Poema*, lib. iv.); *Chronique de Viscart* (lib. i. c. 2).

Doge, who perhaps felt that, in his present dilemma, he could barely afford to be candid, affected to entertain the subdolous proposal; he ultimately begged that night to reflect on the matter; and the ship, which had brought Bohemond to Pali, was no sooner lost in the dusk of evening, than Selvo directed the lighter vessels to tow the men-of-war into the bay of Durazzo, where the whole fleet was drawn up, under his eye, in the form of a crescent, the carricks being placed in the front, and the smaller frigates in the rear. On the former might be seen lofty and storied castles of wood; and in each of these floating fortresses was stationed a large body of soldiers and marines, who, in addition to the ordinary weapons used in medieval warfare, were provided with a supply of huge fagots pointed with iron, which they might let drop from that elevation with fatal accuracy on the decks of the enemy's ships. All the arrangements preparatory to an action were completed in the course of the night; and at daybreak, the forces of Selvo were seen lying in excellent order within a short distance of the mouth of the bay; while it was found that the Normans had taken up a position between the Venetian squadron and the shore. But the former had been out-manœuvred; the rapid and masterly movement of the Doge had been wholly unexpected; and although the Duke of Apulia had at once perceived that a battle was inevitable, and had, in like manner, made all the necessary dispositions during the preceding night, it was clear that he had little counted upon being cooped up in such a manner

that his superiority of numbers would prove itself less an advantage than an incumbrance.

Under these circumstances, which Selvo had rendered by his able tactics so favourable to himself, the struggle commenced with the daylight; and it was maintained for some time on both sides with equal vigour and equal success. Guiscard himself was foremost among the combatants; and his son narrowly escaped capture in conducting an attack on the Venetian line. But the steady and unyielding valour of the Islanders, combined with their tried discipline and consummate dexterity, was not to be withstood; their opponents, who might own that they had at last found a foe worthy of their arms, gradually lost ground; and after a strenuous but futile endeavour to regain his position, the Duke of Apulia was forced to acknowledge the superior fortune of Venice and Saint Mark. His discomfiture relieved Durazzo; the conqueror, after giving audience to an embassy from Botoniates, who was anxious to congratulate and compliment Selvo and his officers on the satisfactory result of their exertions, entered that town in triumph; and, having placed his son in command of the garrison, which was already composed, in principal measure, of Venetian residents,[1] he returned home (1081). Toward the close of the same year, Botoniates was deposed and succeeded by Alexius Comnenus.

But the genius of Guiscard speedily retrieved his

[1] Anonymus Barensis (p. 6, notes 42–3); Lebeau (xv. pp. 144, 145, 179).

disaster; and, two months after the naval battle of Durazzo, he met and defeated a Greek army, commanded by the Emperor in person. It was then already November; the enemy was in full retreat; and the Duke, desirous on his part of reposing on a victory, resolved to fix his quarters for the winter at Joannina, where he might keep a watchful eye on the works which he had thrown up during the campaign round Durazzo, and on which the operations in the following year largely depended.

On the approach of spring (1082) the place was invested anew; and the formidable nature of the artillery of which Guiscard had formed his besieging train, seemed to insure a successful result. Yet, if the issue of the undertaking was still in any degree doubtful, that doubt was quickly dissipated by a strange and unforeseen contingency. A Venetian noble, named Domenigo, who resided at Durazzo, and who commanded one of the principal towers, had been recently piqued at some slighting expression of the Governor Selvo; to repair his honour, or to indulge his resentment, Domenigo conceived the design of betraying his trust; and three days after his arrival at Durazzo, Guiscard was secretly informed that, provided he was willing to requite the service in a suitable manner,[1] that part of the fortress over which the traitor was placed in charge should be left purposely

[1] Gibbon (ch. lvi. p. 332) says positively that a rich and honourable marriage was the price of the service. But he cites no authority for this, and I have not seen such a statement in any other writer.

defenceless and accessible on the night of the 22nd February, 1082. Robert embraced this base proposal with somewhat discreditable avidity; assurances of friendship and fidelity were exchanged; and, at the specified hour, the Norman troops, having entered the open tower in silence, surprised the citadel, and ultimately forced Selvo and the Venetian garrison to evacuate the town, the charge of which was confided by the Duke to one of his own officers.[1]

The campaign of 1082, which had been thus inaugurated by the fall of Durazzo, was also distinguished by the reduction of Castoria,[2] and several other towns in Thessaly; and had not the terrible reverses of his son Bohemond in the Italian peninsula, and the solicitations of the Holy See, recalled him at that juncture from the East, the Duke of Apulia might have shortly placed on his own head the golden diadem of the empire of Romania.

The multifarious concerns of his kingdom detained Robert in Apulia till September, 1084, when he once more quitted the port of Otranto with a powerful fleet, and directed his course toward Corfu. But, in the meantime, Comnenus, alarmed by the recent successes and the fresh preparations of his indefatigable foe, intimated to Selvo that, should the Republic again consent to enlist herself in the cause of the Byzantine Court, new commercial privileges would be forthcoming: the Emperor even added, that he would

[1] Gulielmus Apulus (*Poema*, lib. iv.).

[2] *Chron. de R. Viscart, loco citato.*

endeavour to raise a naval contingent. Those conditions were accepted; and in the early part of October, the Doge, having a well-organized squadron[1] under his orders, set sail a second time for the Ionian Isles. He found himself confronted with the enemy of whom he was in search between Corfu and Cephalonia.

On this occasion, Selvo was placed in command of nine castellated ships of extraordinary size, carrying a force of about 13,000 men, thirty-six *dromoni* or *navi grossi*, whose complement reached 10,000, fourteen long galleys, and nine vessels of smaller proportions and lighter draught. The fleet of the Normans was composed of 120 sail.[2] In point of numbers, therefore, the advantage was greatly on the side of the enemy; but the Venetian squadron seems to have been superior in strength and efficiency. At all events, the battle which ensued terminated speedily in favour of the latter, and Guiscard was under the necessity of ordering a general retreat. A second engagement took place three days later; it was followed by a similar result; and the victorious Doge, acting on the reasonable but dangerous belief that the enemy was too much discomfited to rally, sent back to Venice all the vessels which appeared unable to contend against the increasing rigour of the season, and retired with the rest to the coast of Albania, where he intended to watch the movements of the Normans, and to await their departure.

[1] Guglielmus Apulus (*De Northm. gente Poema*); Ap. Murat. (v. 272).
[2] Filiasi (*Ricerche Storiche*, p. 201).

The sequel shewed that the reduction of the Squadron at this stage of the operations was extremely premature and ill-judged; Guiscard, who was quickly apprised of the step, wisely determined not to neglect so auspicious an opportunity of renewing hostilities; and this determination was strengthened by the statement of Pietro Contarini, a Venetian deserter of rank,[1] that the Doge was altogether ignorant of the temper of the Normans, and wholly unprepared for action. The information of the traitor Contarini was found to be perfectly correct. The sudden and impetuous attack of Guiscard took Selvo completely by surprise, and threw his forces into irrecoverable confusion. The carricks became all but useless. The frigates and a large proportion of the galleys were absent: and, to add to his distress and perplexity, the Greek contingent, smitten by a panic fear, fled in dismay, having scarcely exchanged a blow with the enemy. Still the courage and self-possession of the Doge did not forsake him in that trying moment. On the contrary, every effort which might help to extricate his fleet from the perilous position in which it was placed, was exerted by Selvo; and had the vessels, which were now directing their course toward the Lagoon, been at his disposal, or, indeed, had he at all anticipated the attack, he felt that, even under such disadvantages, he would have easily achieved a third triumph. But it was then too late. The enemy was pressing forward on every side. His line was

[1] Romanin (i. 324). The motive of Contarini is unknown.

outflanked and overwhelmed. Two of his carricks foundered; seven fell into the hands of the Normans; and of the Venetians, 3,000 were killed, and 2,500 were taken prisoners.[1] The Doge himself barely succeeded in effecting a disorderly retreat with the remnant of his shattered squadron (November, 1084).[2]

It was toward the close of that year that the Venetians beheld the wreck of their fleet, and learned the disastrous result of the Battle of Corfu; and a reverse which spread such terrible havoc among a sparse population, naturally bred great discontent and repining. There was no unwillingness to believe that Selvo had exerted his best efforts to avert the calamity; and those who had been present at the battle were able to bear testimony to the energy and skill which he had shown to the last moment in the face of vastly superior numbers. But the general opinion was that, apart from those two considerations, the conduct of the Doge was justly open to animadversion. In the first place it was urged that, although he defeated the Duke of Apulia twice in the course of four days, he had neglected to use that double victory; secondly, it was said that, in suffering Guiscard to take him by surprise, he had exhibited too little circumspection. These were grave imputations: nor were they readily answerable. Even the warmest defenders of Selvo

[1] Romoald of Salerno (*Chronicon*, p. 175); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 19); Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. viii.); Filiasi (*Memorie*, vi. 369–70); ibid. (*Ricerche Storiche*, p. 201).

[2] Romanin (i. p. 324) says that the prisoners were afterward released.

could only adduce in palliation of his faults the unsuspected treachery of Pietro Contarini, the glorious campaign of 1081, and the other public services of the Doge during a reign of thirteen years. It also unfortunately happened that there was, at that time, a large and influential Faction, whose interest and aim it was to foster the incipient belief in the negligence and incapacity of their chief magistrate; the leader of this party was Vitali Faliero Dodoni, a member of one of the oldest Venetian families, and an avowed candidate for the vacant berretta. Yet such was the success with which he operated on the public feeling, and such ready credit did his base and exaggerated representations obtain among the lower orders, that Selvo was forced, in the course of December, 1084, by the dread of a popular tumult, to tender his resignation; and thus the crown, which he was suspected of having won by intrigue, was wrested from him by intrigue. Dodoni succeeded to the throne; his election had probably been a pre-concerted measure. The new Doge was already advanced in years.[1]

Shortly before his deposition, the Doge Selvo had lost his consort Theodora, the daughter of the Greek Emperor Constantine Ducas XI. The luxurious extravagance of this lady forms a favourite theme with the chroniclers of those times; and the narrative of Petrus

[1] Romanin (i. p. 325). Two of the MSS. in the Harl. Collection (Nos. 4820 and 5020) may be compared with *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. iii. p. 84.)

Damianus especially presents an amusing sketch of her fashion of life, which contributes to illustrate the manners of the period. It seems that every morning, when the Dogaressa rose, her cheeks were bathed with dew, which was found to impart to them a beautiful freshness and glow. Her ablutions were performed in rose-water. Her clothes were scented with the finest and most delicate balsams. Her hands were always covered with gloves. Her chamber was saturated with essences and aromatic perfumes, insomuch that it was not unusual for her attendants to faint during the tedious process of the toilet. In conveying the food to her mouth, Theodora was wont to employ the medium of a double-pronged golden fork. Such sinful voluptuousness and inordinate indulgence brought with them (continues Damianus) their own punishment. About two years after her marriage with Selvo, the Dogaressa was attacked by a putrid fever; the malady, which grew upon her too fast to admit the hope of cure or recovery, became at last insufferably nauseous; and the daughter of Ducas, an object, in her latest moments, of mingled compassion and disgust to all around her, was left to die in agony, almost in solitude.[1]

The language of Damianus favours a supposition that the Greek Princess was guilty of introducing into the Republic many false refinements and fantastic notions, which were till then unknown to the daughters of the Contarini and the Morosini. It may

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 477); Dandolo (lib. IX. p. 247).

be doubted, however, whether such was the case. That the Venetian ladies of the eleventh century were too simple in their tastes to copy the fashions of the Greeks, is possible;[1] but there is no ground for the belief that that simplicity proceeded from their ignorance, rather than their virtue. On the contrary, there is irrefragable evidence that the Venetian traders frequented Constantinople so early as the year 800; toward the close of the following century they had established a regular commerce with the Levant; and even in 940, when Luitprand, the envoy of Berenger II., King of Italy, passed through Venice on his way to the antient Capital of the world, he could not help remarking the strong contrast which the rich costumes and polite carriage of the citizens offered to the rude at tireand ruder manners of the Franks and Lombards of his day.[2] Luitprand had now been dead upward of 100 years; and in this long interval, the genius and enterprise of the great mercantile Houses of Barozzi, Michieli, and Badoer, had developed and promoted to a wonderful extent the national civilization. It must be remembered that in this interval Orseolo II. had reigned; and we are led, on the whole, to incline to the view, that the Venetians of the age of Selvo were as familiar with the customs of the people who

[1] One of Selvo's successors, Vitali Michieli, enumerated among the virtues of his consort Felice, who died in 1101, and was buried at Saint Mark's, a detestation of luxury. *Calcavit Luxum*, it is written in the epitaph (Sansovino, ii. 95).

[2] Luitprand (*Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam: Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii. p. 417).

dwelled on the shores of the Euxine and the Archipelago, as with the cotton that was spun at Pola, or with the wine which was brought from Justinople.

The nuptials of Maria Argyra and Giovanni Orseolo have been recorded in the annals of the tenth century; those of Theodora Ducas with Domenigo Selvo consequently offered the second instance, in which a princess of the Royal blood of Constantinople had been united to a scion of the Venetian nobility; and it might be considered by some as no insignificant testimony to the power and importance of the Republic, that the successors of Valens no longer disdained to give their daughters in marriage to the Fishermen of Rialto.

There was still another feature in the reign of the Doge Selvo, which sheds a certain lustre over his memory. During the Revolution of August, 976, which proved itself fatal to Sanudo IV., the Ducal Palace had been consumed; and his successor, Orseolo I., considering the general distress, which prevailed at that conjuncture, drew from his private resources the sum requisite to defray the expense of its restoration. Orseolo, however, left the work unfinished, and the Palace was not wholly completed till the reign of Domenigo Contarini (1043–71). Yet, although the principal and more conspicuous portions of the new edifice were built of stone, some had been left, or perhaps even reconstructed, in the ruder material. It was the taste and munificence of Selvo, which removed this obvious and unaccountable blemish; while he rendered the form of the building infinitely more

beautiful, and its proportions more striking, by the addition of marble columns, and commenced the decoration of the walls of the interior with painting and mosaic.[1] It was thus that Venice began to owe her grandeur, as well as her greatness, to a few wealthy and eminent citizens, members of the same order, advocates of the same principles; and that, without the ordinary aid of grants from the Commune, her public buildings soon wore an aspect of magnificence, upon which her neighbours and contemporaries might gaze with mingled wonder and envy.

[1] Cicognara (*Monumenti*, i. p. 19).

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1084 to A.D. 1172.

Faliero I. Dodoni, First Doge of Venice, Dalmatia and Croatia (1085)—New Treaty with the Byzantine Court (1085)—Restoration of Loredo (1094)—The Magistrato del Proprio (1085)—Plague and Famine at Venice—Death of Faliero I.—Vitali Michieli, Doge (1096)—Participation of Venice in the Crusades (1099)—Recovery of Ferrara by the Venetians on behalf of the Countess Matilda (1102)—Death of Michieli I. (May, 1102)—Faliero II. Dodoni, Doge (1102–17)—War with Padua (1110)—Fresh Expedition to Syria (1111)—War with Hungary (1115–17)—Battle of Zara (1115)—Visit of Henry V. to Venice (March, 1116)—Renewal of the War with Hungary—Second Battle of Zara (June, 1116)—Third Battle of Zara—Fall of the Doge—Rout of the Venetians—Five Years' Truce with Hungary—Domenigo Michieli, Doge (1117–28)—Fresh Expedition to Syria (1123)—Battle of Jaffa—Siege of Tyre—Treaty between the Republic and the King of Jerusalem—Triumphal Return of Michieli to Venice (1124)—Sack of the Ionian Isles—Recovery of the Dalmatian Colonies from Hungary—Occupation of Cephalonia by a Venetian Fleet (1128)—Abdication of Michieli II. (1128)—Improvement of the Venetian Police during his Reign—He is Succeeded by his Son-in-Law Pietro Polani (1128–48)—Acquisition of Fano (1141)—Second War with Padua (1143)—Recovery of Pola from the Pisans (1145)—Coalition of the Republic with Emmanuel Comnenus against the King of Sicily—Siege of Corfu (1148)—Devastation of Sicily by the Venetians—Death of Polani (1148)—Domenigo Morosini, Doge (1148–56)—Michieli III., Doge (1156–72)—General State of Lombardy—Collision between Venice and some of the Ghibelline Cities—Humiliation of the Patriarch of Aquileia (1163)—Formation of the Lombard League (1167)—War between Venice and the Emperor Comnenus (1171–2)—Ravages of the Plague among the Troops of the Republic (1171)—Assassination of Michieli III. (27th May, 1172.)

In the spring of 1085, Andrea Michieli, Jacopo Orio, and Domenigo Dandolo of the parish of San Silvestro,

arrived at the Golden Horn; they were the Venetian deputies, who were charged with the task of reminding Comnenus of the engagement into which he had so recently entered with the late Domenigo Selvo.[1] The representatives of Faliero II. now solicited the Emperor to discharge the promise made to Selvo shortly before the disastrous Battle of Corfu: and they intimated, that the formal cession of Dalmatia and Croatia to the Republic was a necessary prelude to the renewal of the campaign. Alexius deplored, perhaps, the weakness which precluded him from resisting or resenting the demands of his insular Allies: yet he might recognise in them the stipulated price of services rendered to his empire in a season of urgent distress. In the presence of the deputies, however, his Majesty relinquished all right to a province, which one of his predecessors had refused to resign to the greatest of the Carlovingian kings. He exempted the Venetian traders in all parts of the empire, excepting in Cyprus, Candia, and Megalopolis, from all duties and imposts whatever. On Faliero, whom he acknowledged as Doge of Venice, Dalmatia, and Croatia, he conferred the title and revenues of a Protosevastos; and the church of Saint Mark was endowed with several houses in Durazzo and Constantinople.[2] But the clearest testimony of the necessities of the Byzantine Court, as well as the best monument of the growth of the Venetian power, was that clause in

[1] De Monacis (fol. 43); Mutinelli (*Del Commercio de Veneziani*, p. 22).
[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. ix.); Filiasi (vi. p. 382).

the new chrysobole which adjudged each Amalfitan merchant, resident in the Eastern capital, to pay to the Ducal Fisc an annual tribute of three perperi.[1]

Alexius had thus redeemed his pledge; and Faliero proceeded, on his part, to open the campaign of 1085. The operations of the fleet were of a languid and unimportant character; a few engagements took place in the Gulf of Tarentum between the Normans and the allied forces of the Greeks and Venetians, in all of which the former had the advantage; and in the course of May, Dodoni determined to withdraw from the contest. A few months later, the illustrious Guiscard died at Cephalonia, where he was projecting a fresh invasion of the empire;[2] and his death relieved the Byzantine Court from all apprehension in that quarter.

In the meantime, the Doge had returned with the fleet to Venice. He was surprised to find the capital a scene of consternation and sorrow. Saint Mark had disappeared. The search and inquiries of the priests had been fruitless. The citizens had had recourse to fasting and prayer, but in vain. The Saint was inexorable; till, on the 6th of June, 1085, as one of the officials was performing some service in the chapel, he became sensible of a sweet odour, and turning

[1] A *perpero* was equal, at that time, to ten shillings, and the value of money in the twelfth century, as compared with its value in the nineteenth, was in the proportion of 8 to 1. See Leber (*Essai sur la Fortune Privée*, p. 103).

[2] Gul. Apulus (*Poema*, lib. v.); and Mutinelli (*Commercio de Veneziani*, p. 22).

round in astonishment, he beheld an arm protruding from one of the columns of the porch. The man was dumb with fear, till he was reassured by a voice, which said to him: "I am Saint Mark; go, and announce my return in the City." In obedience to the Saint's instructions, the favoured ecclesiastic communicated to the Doge and the patriarch what he had witnessed. The whole capital was soon thrown into a state of effervescence. Every one became anxious to examine with his own eyes the spot, where the hand of Saint Mark had been first seen; and so widely spread was the reputation of the Patron-Evangelist in those days throughout the neighbouring provinces, that a great number of devout persons were attracted to Rialto by the joyful intelligence.[1] Among others, the Emperor Henry IV., who was then residing at Treviso, when he was apprised of the circumstance, informed the Venetian deputies, Vitali Michieli of San Basilio, and Pietro Zoppolo, who had just obtained from him the renewal of the mercantile charter, that it was his intention shortly to visit the theatre of the late miracle; and, on that occasion, his Majesty was suffered to indulge his pious curiosity. But the imperial visit was opportune: for, in the October of the same year, the Saint was placed under stricter confinement, and the Doge and the Primicerio, to whose care he was

[1] It forms a curious illustration of the manners and religious tone of the period that an andata was instituted in eternal commemoration of this circumstance, known as the "Andata per l'Inventione del Corpo di S. Marco." See Sansovino (*V. D.* xii. 515).

now jointly confided, were thenceforward the only persons to whom his precise position was not a secret.[1]

In the year 1094, a grant was obtained from the Commune to defray the expense of restoring the antient fief of Loredo, between Adria and Cavarzero; and in the compact into which the Republic thought fit to enter with the municipal authorities, it was stipulated that the legal and commercial franchises enjoyed by Venetian citizens should be extended without exception to the Loredese; that they should exercise the privilege of choosing their own *gastaldo*, or Chief Magistrate; and that they should pay to the Bishop of Castello an annual poll-tax of three fowls, as well as a fee of threepence to the collector. The Doge reserved to himself the right of hunting in their forests, and fishing in their streams.[2]

In the same epoch, and indeed in the same year (1094), is placed the institution of a new public office, designated the *Magistrato del Proprio*, whose peculiar province it became to examine the legality of wills; to administer the effects of persons, who might die intestate; to exercise a general control over the transfer and conveyance of estates, and to protect the interests and rights of the orphan and the widow.[3] To assign to a lay tribunal the wide and important functions

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 251); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 28).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 251) quotes the treaty between Venice and her dependency textually: it bears date December, 1094.

[3] Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. xiii. p. 555).

which were thus exercised by the Proprio, was entirely in harmony with the genius of the Venetian Constitution. Venice was a State where the utmost jealousy had ever existed of clerical interference even in spiritual matters; and there was no country where such anxious care was displayed in laying down the line of demarcation between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The Republic was peculiarly intolerant of any attempt on the part of the Church to extend her influence to a branch of the law, over which she had no legitimate control; and at a period when the Bishops were being formally constituted elsewhere the administrators, not only of bequests to pious uses, but of all testaments, intestacies, and cognate matters, Venetian reformers were found taking such things altogether out of the hands of the clergy, and placing them under the exclusive cognizance of a civil magistrate. The origin of the *Magistrato del Proprio* is believed to have been immediately owing to a monetary crisis, and to the discovery of some dishonest transactions on the part of certain trustees of property.

The financial difficulty of 1094 was followed in somewhat less than two years by a visitation of plague and famine; and in the number of those who succumbed to the former was the venerable Dodoni himself,[1] whose fate might have been

[1] The name of Dodoni (Dedonis) was probably derived from the Castle of Dedonis, in the Cremonese territory.

viewed perhaps with more sympathy, if the scarcity had not been chiefly due to his personal improvidence.

In its periodical recurrences, the epidemic was naturally apt to exhibit more than usual virulence in a City which, in addition to imperfect sewage, ventilation, and light, was exposed to three evils from which its neighbours were for the most part exempt: the noxious vapours of the lagoons, the dampness of the soil, arising from constant inundations, and secondarily, at least, the scanty space disposable for purposes of sepulture within so limited a territorial area. On the other hand, indeed, the population of Venice was comparatively sparse and singularly fluctuating; and there is no valid reason to suppose that even the less aristocratic localities were crowded to excess. The callings of the lower orders were generally healthy and invigorating; their habits were cleanly; their diet was simple; and frequent voyages to distant countries, or excursions to the *terra firma*, afforded changes of air and scene of which the corresponding class in many other States, and even in many other Italian cities, knew very little, or nothing whatever. But these favourable points can only be balanced against the disadvantages of geographical situation. We must not ask why, under such circumstances, the evils of a pestilence were so great; but we must remember that, under any other conditions, they would have been infinitely greater. Faliero was succeeded by Vitali Michieli of San Basilio, who had been the

Ambassador of the Republic at the Court of Pavia in 1094 (December, 1096).[1]

The new Doge found on his accession that the pious declamations of Peter of Amiens, called the Hermit, and other fanatical propagandists, were infusing a new spirit into mankind. The ages which immediately succeeded the irruption of the Northern barbarians had been ages of darkness, confusion, and ignorance. The mighty torrent of invasion, which had swept away the grandeur of Rome, and which had effaced the landmarks of kingdoms and empires, created a wide chasm between the past and the future; and when the flood subsided, a colony of Scythians and Tartars had settled on the beautiful and fertile plains of Umbria, Picenum, and Liguria. The fabulous

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[1] Faliero was entombed at Saint Mark's; the following leonine verses were inscribed on his monument:—

"Moribus insignis, titulis celeberrime dignis,
Cultor honestatis, Dux omnimodæ probitatis,
In commune bonus semper ad omnia pronus,
Publica conservans meliora boni coacervans,
Dum veterum gesta renovans, plus reddis honesta,
Cunctaque jucunde faciens, das semper abunde,
Ut fieret plenus quicumque veniret egenus,
Plus quoque longinquos refovens quam carne propinquos,
Vita fuit cujus patriæ tremor hostibus hujus,
Reddens tranquillos nos linguâ, viribus illos.
Cujus erat scire populos pro pace subire,
In quocumque fores expendia . . . . labores
Decretis legum muniens . . . . regum;
Ut fieres horum Rex, et Corrector eorum,
Fama cujus cœdros cujus dedit ire Faledros,
Christi natalis peragis dum festa Vitalis
Duceris ad funus, factus dolor omnibus unus!!!

Sansovino (*V. D.* ii. 97).

origin of the strangers was forgotten in the lapse of time, and intermarriages with the Italians gradually produced a race who might regard their savage ancestors with surprise and contempt. The Goths and the Lombards had quickly yielded to the humanizing influence of a softer and more luxurious climate, and they had long acquired the arts of their adopted countrymen before they began to copy their vices. By example and education, moreover, they had been slowly converted from idol-worship to the Christian religion; and they were thus led to sympathize with the horror created by the insults which the Mohammedans heaped on the tomb of the Son of God and on the City of Salvation. During the early ages of the Church, this feeling manifested itself only in desultory pilgrimages, and pious, but feeble vows. In the eleventh century, a ripple had swollen into a mighty wave; and the picture of the desecration of the Temple and the Sepulchre, drawn by interest, superstition, or credulity, had inspired Western chivalry with an extraordinary ardour for the rescue of the Holy Places from profane hands. The knowledge and judgment of the self-constituted champions of the Cross bore a very slight proportion to their valour and enthusiasm; and their glowing zeal prepared them to regard religion in a point of view widely different from that in which it had been contemplated by the founders of the Apostolic Faith. It ceased to be the rule or example of life: it became a passion and a pursuit. Men defended it with the sword, and polluted it with

bloodshed. To have died beneath the Sacred Banner was soon considered the most glorious, if not the most blessed end of earthly existence; and the extirpation of the misbelievers was accounted the best passport to the kingdom of heaven. Piety was, in this manner, readily kindled into fanaticism, and fanaticism not unfrequently wore the form of phrenzy.

But, while the knights and peasantry of France, Flanders, and Germany, were sharing the influence of such sentiments, the Republic had begun to perceive the high expediency of joining the general movement. The other Crusaders obeyed the new impulse: the Republic utilized it. The principle which swayed the policy and inspired the zeal of the Venetians in this class of undertaking, was precisely that which a trading community might be supposed to keep in view as the root and germ of its prosperity: while the almost inseparable connexion of their political and commercial systems naturally led them to blend two ideas which had till then remained distinct, and to associate with the pursuit of wealth the acquisition of power. The Venetians had long found that the Mohammedan countries formed an excellent market for the produce and manufactures of the West, and it was consequently not so much the fear of the conquest or recovery of Palestine by the infidels which operated as an incentive in their case, as that of the foundation of marts and counters by other mercantile communities on the shores of the Holy Land, and of the rise in that manner of a competition

which could not fail to be extremely injurious to the national welfare. It was the aim of the Republic to forestal any such contingency. It was not to be expected that she would denaturalize herself by levying large armies, and by sending them across arid and pestilential regions, or through hostile and barbarous countries where, even should they contrive to force a passage, they would almost inevitably fall victims to hunger and disease. It was not within the limits of possibility that Venice should adopt such a course. The part which she proposed to herself in these distant enterprises, was that of maritime co-operation with the military Powers of Christendom; and for such a part she was, perhaps, better fitted by her constitution and the peculiar genius of her people than any other European State.

In the early part of 1099, Badoer da Spinale and Faliero Storlado[1] were commissioned by the Doge Michieli to superintend the organization of a Dalmatian contingent; while the Government at home was engaged in preparing the expedition which, by the national consent, was to be despatched without delay to the succour of Godfrey de Bouillon and his brave companions in arms. This flotilla, which was computed at 207 vessels[2] of all sail, left the gulf in the autumn of 1099, under the joint command of Giovanni

[1] P. Giustiniani *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 40 (King's MSS. 148); De Monacis, fol. 44 (Add. MSS. 8574); Marin (iii. 7–8–9); Romanin (ii. 14).

[2] Of these, according to Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 963) and G. Diedo (*Storia*, i. p. 54), eighty were galleys.

Michieli, the Doge's son, and Arrigo Contarini, bishop of Castello.[1] It shaped its course, in the first instance, for Grado, where the bishop received at the hands of the patriarch Pietro Badoer the great standard of Saint Mark; and thence it proceeded to Rhodes, where the admiral designed to wait till spring.

Meanwhile, however, Alexius Comnenus, who had been watching the movements of the Republic with growing suspicion, and who considered that a certain deference was due on her part to his wishes, had earnestly exhorted her to refrain from taking any active share in the Crusade; and the Venetians, having turned a deaf ear to the appeal, he had recourse to Pisan jealousy and hatred. His overtures in the latter quarter were more successful; and fifty galleys, which had served under the son of Robert Guiscard in the Holy Land during the preceding summer, readily furled the Norman colours, and hoisted the imperial flag. The mercenaries having discovered that the Venetian fleet was at anchor off Rhodes, advanced toward the spot where Michieli had fixed his moorings. The admiral, feigning ignorance of their hostile design, though he had actually imagined at first from the pennant which the stranger carried, that the nation was Greek, sent an envoy under a flag of truce to expostulate with the Pisan commander. But the enemy having declined to afford

[1] The son of the late Doge Domenigo Contarini. The churchman, however, had merely the spiritual charge of the forces: the command actually devolved on Michieli.

any explanation of his purpose, Michieli hesitated no longer in entering into hostilities; and in a decisive though brief engagement with a portion of the Venetian line, the mercenaries were defeated with a loss of twenty ships and 4,000 prisoners.[1] The former were retained as prizes; the latter immediately regained their liberty, with the exception of thirty officers, whom the Venetian commander thought proper to retain as hostages.[2]

Shortly after this collision, the whole fleet quitted its anchorage, and advanced to the islet of Myra, where Bishop Contarini was gratified by the discovery of the body of Saint Nicholas, Bishop and Confessor, which he had promised to secure for his country. From Myra the fleet proceeded to Smyrna, which was abandoned to pillage as a possession of the Saracens; and at last, in the month of June, 1100,[3] it entered the Bay of Jaffa. Three weeks after the arrival of Michieli and his squadron, Godfrey de Bouillon expired (18th July, 1100); and after participating in the siege of Jaffa, and a few operations before the town of Caiphas,[4] the Venetian commander decided on returning to Europe in anticipation of the winter. Michieli had lost sight of the shores of Palestine late

[1] Blondus of Forlì (*De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, sign. f.).

[2] Roncioni (*Istorie Pisane*, lib. iv. p. 139); Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 96); Sandi (i. p. 427).

[3] Michaud (ii. p. 12); Lebeau (xv. p. 360).

[4] The anonymous author of the *Translation of the Relics of Saint Nicholas to Venice* (*apud* Cornaro *Eccl. Ven. Antiq. Mon.* and quoted by Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 234) states, that the Venetians at this siege had vessels so large, that they were *on a level with the towers of the city*.

in the autumn: he made his entry into the harbour of Castello on the 6th of December, 1100.[1] It happened to be Saint Nicholas's day. An enormous crowd had gathered on the quay to welcome the return of the troops, and to hear the news from the East. The Doge himself and a procession of the clergy were also there to receive with due honour the admiral and his squadron; and when a report was circulated, that Bishop Contarini had brought with him from Myra the body of the saint, to whose memory that day was especially dedicated, the popular ecstasy was prodigious. The whole capital soon presented one scene of ovation: the pious citizens were filled with delight and wonder at the coincidence; and shortly afterward the sacred relics were lodged, with every mark of devotion, in the monastery which had been founded at Lido in 1044 by the Doge Contarini.[2] Thus terminated the first expedition of the Republic to the Holy Land, which had certainly partaken less of the nature of a military pilgrimage than of that of a predatory cruise.

In the succeeding year (1101) the Venetians, anxious to punish and repress the piratical incursions of the cruisers of Roger Guiscard into their Dalmatian possessions, concluded an offensive and defensive league with Hungary, to whose vengeance the Count of Sicily had earned an equal title by similar operations on her frontier. The conditions of this treaty, which bound King Caloman to afford protection to the Venetian

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 258). [2] Sansovino (lib. v. p. 230).

flag, and to provide a military contingent to the naval expedition against Apulia now in contemplation by Michieli, were executed, so soon as the vessels employed in the Syrian campaign had been refitted and repaired; and while the Hungarian forces invaded the dominions of Guiscard on the side of the land, a fleet commanded by the Doge in person, descended the Adriatic, sacked Brindisi[1] and Monopoli, and diffused terror and desolation along the whole seaboard.[2]

During the same period, the Countess Matilda, who had long been concerting abortive measures for the recovery of Ferrara, solicited the aid of Michieli and the Republic; and in the spring of 1102, the Doge sailed up the Po with a small squadron, and took possession of the city in her name.[3] So material a service was not left unrequited, and the Venetians were placed by Matilda in the enjoyment of many valuable privileges of a commercial character in Ferrara.

In the following May (1102) Michieli I. closed his days in peace, after a brief though not inglorious reign of five years and five months. His remains were interred in the vaults of San Zaccaria; and he was replaced by Ordelafo, the son[4] of the former Doge Faliero I. Dodoni, who had perished so miserably during the pestilence of 1096.

In the construction of their larger and their more

[1] Monaca (*Memorie Storiche della Citta di Brindisi*, lib. iii. ch. vii.).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 259); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. i. p. 21).

[3] Donizone (*Vita Mathildis Comitissæ*, lib. ii. ch. xiii. *Ap.* Murat, v.).

[4] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 152); Caroldo, *Historia*, p. 4 (Harl. MSS. 5020).

important buildings, such as the Basilica, the Ducal Palace, and the cathedral of San Pietro di Castello, the Venetians had been accustomed from the most remote times to introduce stone and marble, which they procured, at a comparatively cheap rate, from Italy and Dalmatia. But the material almost universally employed in parish churches and private dwellings till the reign of the second Faliero,[1] was wood, which was also imported from the latter country, as well as from Istria. The remarkable change which was effected in this respect at the commencement of the twelfth century, was the first decided step toward the improvement of the Venetian capital in an architectural point of view: and it is worthy of note, that this change was the immediate consequence of one of the most destructive visitations by which the Republic was ever afflicted.

Old men, whose memory carried them far back into the past, owned that they had never witnessed such a dreadful year as 1106. It eclipsed in horror even the too memorable 1006, of which it was to be remarked, not without some superstitious awe, that it was exactly the centenary. The heavens were overcast with an angry gloom. The strength of man and beast was alike prostrated by the suffocating heat of the atmosphere. Strange and portentous sounds were heard to issue from the Canals; and the fish leaped in terror out of the water. The lagoons emitted sulphureous and inflammatory vapours. It lightened

[1] Temanza *Antica Pianta di Venezia*, p. 7.

and thundered at unusual seasons; and men observed that the flash of the electric fluid was more vivid, and the roll of the thunder more deep, than ordinary.[1] Shocks of earthquake were felt at short intervals. A meteor shot from time to time across the dark masses of cloud. The tide of the Adriatic was swollen to an unexampled degree, and the shops and houses of the citizens were overturned and flooded. Nor was this the whole extent of the evil. On the first day of the year, a fire, attributable to the volcanic exhalations from the lagoons, broke out in the dwelling of Arrigo Zeno, in the street of San Apostoli,[2] and the flames were not quenched until they had consumed utterly six churches and the whole body of contiguous building. On the 6th of April following, a second conflagration originated in the street of San Lorenzo, the ravages of which extended over both sides of the Grand Canal. It engulfed no fewer than twenty-four churches, among which were San Lorenzo, San Severo, San Zaccaria, Santa Scholastica, and San Basso, carried havoc and ruin in every direction, and even scorched the walls of the Palace and Ducal Chapel. Not long afterward, the Island City of Malamocco was reduced to ashes, and subsequently deluged by the rising of the Adriatic.[3]

[1] Sanudo (fol. 486), who quotes the Chronicle of the Monastery of San Salvador.

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 260). "The Venetians of that day," writes Mutinelli (*A. U. di V.* p. 40), "were inclined to suspect that their troubles were attributable to the Narentines, who stirred up the elements by invoking their demons for conjuring and necromantic purposes."

[3] *Chronica di Venetia* (Harl. MSS. No. 4820).

These accumulated disasters were obviously due in some measure to causes over which there was no human control; yet it was considered at the same time that they had chiefly arisen from the too general employment, in the construction of the capital and its suburbs, of the most combustible of all substances; and as the islands became more densely populated, and localities, once wholly uninhabited, were metamorphosed into busy scenes of life and industry, the necessity of making better provision than heretofore for the public security became more patent. It was felt to be of vital consequence that the most sedulous care should be taken to guard against a return of the late calamity. A general resolution was formed to restore the buildings which had been burned in marble or stone, and, for the future, to adopt those materials, which were not only far less inflammable than wood, but far more durable and picturesque; and in this manner the Great Fire of 1106, though regarded at the time as a heavy and severe misfortune, was, like an event of a similar character in the English Annals, productive of vast ultimate advantage. From that period, in fact, may be dated a new era in the history of Venetian architecture.[1]

The citizens repaired their losses with that alacrity and cheerfulness of spirit which the Venetians were accustomed to exhibit under the pressure of adversity.

[1] "I replicati incendii che desolarono l' isola di Rialto nel Secolo XII. furono appunto le crisi, che persuase ognuno di abbandonare l'uso delle case di legno, e di fabbricarle di pietra."—Temanza, *ubi suprâ*.

Among other examples of piety and patriotism, a Gradenigo[1] devoted a part of his fortune to the erection of a church at Murano in honour of San Cypriano. The Badoeri founded a second at Luprio, which they dedicated to the Holy Cross. The see of Malamocco, which had been devastated by fire and water, was transferred, by the order of Faliero in council, to Chioggia;[2] and it was to the same circumstance that the monks of San Leone owed their removal to San Servolo, in Rialto. Yet so strong was the natural predilection which the wealthier population of Malamocco entertained for the place of their birth, that they determined, a few years later, to defray out of their private resources the cost of its restoration; and, about the year 1110, a new town might be seen gradually rising at a short distance to the left of Old Malamocco, in a position where it was less apt to suffer from the future inroads of the sea. The name of the engineer who was intrusted with the execution of this great and extensive work was Domenigo Grattarolo.[3]

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[1] The following verses, which are quoted by Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 258), refer to the right of patronage claimed in consequence by Gradenigo:

"Del patronato non qui ve nascondo
De sancto Cyprian, cui n'e raxone,
Et de l'Abbate encor la elettione
Che l' tema et mostra chiaro in stratondo,
Che l' Gradenico Jacomo e quello
El cavalier, e descendenti d'ello."

[2] Flaminio Cornaro (*Ecclesiæ Venetæ et Torcellanæ Antiqua Monumenta*, iii. p. 158).

[3] Giacomo Diedo (i. p. 57). The great fire of 1106 was followed by four others of a less destructive character in 1115, 1120, 1149 and 1168.

The divorce of Robert Guiscard having cast on the offspring of his first marriage the stain of illegitimacy, Bohemond, his son by that union, had striven to conceal his shame and indignation beneath the sacred banner of the Cross. The equivocal success of the first Crusade, however, and the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, which occurred shortly after his arrival in the Holy Land, had disappointed the ambition of the Norman prince, and directed his enthusiasm into a different channel; and in 1105 he returned to Apulia, bringing with him an acute sense of his own wrongs, and a determination to retrieve the fortunes of his House.

During the campaigns of the two preceding years, victory crowned the patriotic exertions of the Greeks, and the admirals of Alexius Comnenus crushed the mercenary fleets of Genoa and Pisa,[1] which had carried Norman colours, and had been received into Norman pay. But the artful representations of the titular Prince of Tyre, whose misfortunes had not impaired his powers of intrigue and dissimulation, speedily induced the potentates of Europe to look on him as the Martyr-Champion of Christendom, while they began to consider Comnenus as the close ally of the misbelievers;[2] and Bohemond was even so far successful as to prevail on his hearers to believe that there was meagre hope of delivering Jerusalem until a new dynasty had been established at Constantinople. Nor was the Pope, on his part, indisposed to eye with

[1] Lebeau (xv. pp. 373–5–9).

[2] Ibid. (xv. p. 401).

favour a design which might have the effect of restoring the authority of the Holy See over the Greek Church—a vain hope, which revived with every change in the political horizon in the breast of the successors of Saint Peter. Guiscard was therefore advised, and even urged, to make personal overtures to the French King for a fresh levy of Crusaders; and the Prince of Tyre repaired accordingly, in 1106, to the court of that monarch, for the purpose of entering into negotiations, and of ascertaining how far his Majesty was willing to support the object which he now had in prospect.

It was not strange that the Byzantine Court should view the progress of the Crusades with a less favourable eye than the Vatican: for, while the former had everything to fear from those expeditions, the latter had everything to hope. Even should the Greek heresy have taken too deep root to be easily eradicated, the triumph of the Latin pilgrims over the enemies of Rome and the Faith could not fail to extend and augment to a very large extent the papal influence in the East. But Alexius began to perceive that the Crusades were wholly at variance with the true interests of his empire; he began to feel that these distant enterprises, conducted by able and ambitious adventurers, were menacing the stability of his own throne; and he was therefore naturally anxious to stem and turn the tide of enthusiasm, which might, at no distant period, be diverted into other channels, until it reached the walls of Constantinople.

The fears of the Emperor were more than realised

by the subsequent manœuvres of Guiscard at the Courts of Rome and Paris; and so soon as he was informed that a new Crusade had been published, and that the levies of Bohemond in France and Spain were almost complete, Comnenus proceeded without delay to make the requisite dispositions for meeting the impending danger wherever it might threaten. At the same time he sent the Republic an invitation to co-operate with the fleets and armies of Greece, in repelling the torrent of invasion which the unctuous hypocrisy of the Prince of Tyre was about to direct against her shores.

Bohemond crossed the Pyrenees with his new levies in the summer of 1107. On the 9th October, he reached Valona, on the coast of Illyria; and six days later, he encamped under the walls of Durazzo, where he purposed to wait till spring. The winter of that year was spent in unceasing but futile negotiation; and in the early part of 1108, the powerful artillery of engines and projectile batteries, which formed the besieging train of the Prince, was drawn up round the City. But the enormous strength of the fortifications, and the ample resources of the garrison, set all the exertions of the Norman engineers at defiance. The latter discovered with bitter disappointment that the balists, catapults, and mangonels, on which they had counted so largely, were, from the unwieldiness of their dimensions, clumsy and useless. Reports reached the Prince that Alexius had already gained Deabolis, on the borders of Illyria. He attempted to tamper

with the Governor of Durazzo, but found him incorruptible. Provisions began to be scarce in the camp, and disease began to lay its hand upon the troops.[1] All these circumstances tended to darken the hopes and moderate the views of Bohemond; and when Comnenus had advanced within a few miles of the place, his opponent made suggestions for a parley, and obtained a private interview, in which he condescended to purchase the Duchy of Antioch and an annuity with an oath of fealty to the empire. The complexion of affairs might have certainly altered in some slight degree since his father's death, and the resources which had been at the disposal of the late Duke of Apulia, were in some cases beyond his own reach. The Byzantine Court, on its part, was far more favourably situated in regard to the conduct of a war than it had been in 1081. In the room of the drivelling Botoniates, the Greeks had now a prince who was capable of leading them to battle and to victory; and the fiery energy of Comnenus was breathing a new spirit into the corrupt and degenerate nation over which he ruled. Still, to stoop to be the recipient of alms and a title from that very Power which his great parent had taught to tremble at the Norman name, was hardly worthy of the son of Robert Guiscard.

The ambitious designs of the Prince of Tyre had however been signally frustrated in this manner, almost without a struggle; and even the first languid

[1] Wilken (*Gesta Alexii Comneni*, p. 398).

operations before Durazzo were purely of a military nature, and consequently such as placed it almost out of the power of the Republic to afford any assistance beyond the supply of necessaries to the besieged. Nevertheless, to the pressing message which Comnenus had addressed to the Doge in the preceding autumn, Faliero at once replied in the affirmative; and in the early part of 1108 a fleet was actually prepared for the purpose, and was held in readiness to act, at any given moment, with the forces of the Emperor.[1] That moment, as it has been seen, never arrived.

While the pace of Venetian progress in Italy and the East was becoming so rapid, and the descendants of the Fishermen of Rialto were gradually raising their Commune to the dignity of an European State, the power and glory of the Parent City had suffered a proportionate attenuation; and a mean, irascible envy taking the place of departed greatness, prompted the Paduans to view with a sore and jaundiced eye the growing prosperity of the Dauli and the Candiani. The relations of amity, however, which the Republic had established with her jealous neighbour in 550, are not known to have been actually interrupted till the ninth year of the reign of Faliero the Second, an interval of five centuries and a half. In the month of September, 1110, a difference arose between the two States respecting their conterminous line. At the secret instigation of Ravenna and Treviso,

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 261); Marin (iii. p. 26).

who engaged to lend their active support in case of necessity, the Paduans decided upon enforcing their own interpretation of the contested point, and in a spirit of audacious temerity the Confederates proceeded to make an inroad into the outskirts of Venice toward San Ilario. It was in vain that Faliero, from a reluctance to engage in hostilities which the Venetians were inclined to consider derogatory to their arms, sent a message of remonstrance and admonition; the message of the Doge was treated with insolence and contempt; and, the Republic having reluctantly decided on resorting to coercive measures, a naval engagement took place on the Brenta, near Bebe, on the 4th of October (1110), in which the Allied Forces were defeated with the loss of 407 prisoners, among whom was Orlando Crasso, their commander.[1]

The intelligence of this disaster produced at Padua the most unequivocal symptoms of dismay. It was apprehended, that the conquerors might seize so auspicious an opportunity of incorporating the City with the Republic; no disposition was exhibited either by Ravenna or Treviso to render the promised succour in the hour of distress. Under these circumstances, partly assumed, partly real, it appeared to the Senate of Padua that the sole course which remained open, was an appeal to the Emperor for his intercession. The appeal was favourably received; his Majesty consented to mediate between the two Communes; and both were

[1] Da Canale (*Cron. Ven. Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. 297); Lor. de Monacis, fol. 50 (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8574).

accordingly required to send their deputies to Verona, in order to accommodate the pending differences in the august presence of Henry V. (1111). The latter opened the interview by exhorting the disputants not to forget that, if the Republic ought to be attached by the ties of natural affection to Padua, the same bond of connexion should lead Padua to gaze with pride and without envy on the glory and greatness of her offspring. But Padua could not forget that it was Venice who encroached on her lagoons and on her rivers,[1] who paralysed her trade, and reduced her independence to inanition; and it was with slender grace that she acquiesced in the decision of her self-chosen arbitrator in favour of the just demands of the Republic. On the one hand, the Venetian Deputies, Vitali Faliero, the Doge's cousin, Stefano Morosini, Chaplain of Saint Mark, and Orso Giustiniani, agreed, on behalf of Faliero and the Commune, to liberate Crasso and the other prisoners taken in the Battle of Bebe: on the other, they required, and Henry awarded, compensation for the damages inflicted on the population of Rialto during the recent aggression. The new Treaty, which was simultaneously framed (20th May, 1111)[2] between Venice and the Emperor, acknowledged the Venetian right of sovereignty over certain parts of Istria, Dalmatia, and Croatia; it augmented the trading privileges, which Henry IV. had accorded in 1094 to the father of the present Doge; and it ascertained with greater clearness and precision the boundary-line of

[1] Sandi (ii. p. 432). [2] Romanin (ix. p. 27).

Padua. But his Majesty having decidedly refused to dispense with the annual robe of cloth of gold, which his predecessor Otho III., in 998, consented to waive at the solicitation of the Doge Orseolo, the Deputies of Faliero II. were obliged to pledge themselves, that the antient custom should be allowed to revive, and that the tribute should be punctually remitted on the 1st of March in each succeeding year.[1]

In 1110, the Mohammedan dominion in the Holy Land had shrunk within the narrow limits of Ascalon, Tyre, and Sidon;[2] the Cross again floated over the principal cities of Palestine; and Baldwin I., the successor of Godfrey de Bouillon, was now anxious to complete the conquest by annexing these important harbours to the new kingdom of Jerusalem. But he speedily discovered that it was impossible to gain this object without invoking the collateral aid of some naval Power.

It was at this conjuncture that the Republic, encouraged by the fading lustre of the Crescent, and inspired by the pious eloquence of the Doge Faliero, resolved to hasten once more to the succour of the Pilgrims; and toward the close of the year 1111 a fleet of one hundred galleys, exclusively of transports, set sail for the East, under the command of Dodoni himself and his lieutenant, Andrea Morosini. The Venetian squadron, however, did not reach the Holy Land until the Crusaders, in concert with Prince Sigur of Norway, had overcome the obstinate resistance of the Mussul-

[1] Romanin (ix. p. 27). [2] William of Tyre (lib. xi. ch. xiv.).

men of Sidon; and it was consequently present only at the capitulation. Yet so much weight was attached by Baldwin to the maritime co-operation of the Republic with his own troops, that he readily purchased a promise of her future services with the cession of a part of the town of Saint Jean d'Acre, and the right of having a local Magistrate, a Church, a Street, a Mill, a Bakery, a Bath, and the use of her own weights and measures, in each of the Oriental possessions of Christendom.[1] These privileges were of high value to a trading community. Had they merited the name of monopolies, they might have been accounted infinitely more precious. But the same stern necessity which accorded immunities of such a liberal character to Venice, extended them to Pisa and Genoa, and the Republic was almost led by jealousy to forget in the favours which Baldwin showered on her rivals, those which he granted in equal profusion to herself.

A century had now elapsed since Orseolo II. annexed to the Dogado the Istrian and Dalmatian seaports; and, during the interval, the kings of Hungary, gradually emerging from barbarism and obscurity, had frequently endeavoured, with a view of incorporating with their Crown a large and fertile province, to tamper with the fidelity of a people whom they professed a desire to emancipate from the yoke of *a Petty Community of Fishermen.*[2] The Venetian Fiefs, on their

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. xi.); Michaud (iii. p. 209).

[2] Johannes Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. p. 113); Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, decad. ii. lib. v. p. 245).

part, seconded these ambitious designs by the vacillating policy to which they had of late resorted in the hope of ultimately forming themselves, like Amalfi, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, into independent States; and the revolt of Zara in 1050, at the instigation of Solomon, King of Hungary, had already inspired the Republic with a fear that, at no distant period, she would be obliged to dispute with her powerful neighbour the possession of her maritime colonies. Yet, although nearly sixty years had elapsed since Zara was recovered by the Doge Contarini, this apprehension still remained unrealised; and one of Solomon's immediate successors, Caloman, had in the interval, even established relations of amity with the Venetians whom he consented, in 1102, to join in an expedition against their common enemy, Count Roger of Sicily. In 1114, however, King Caloman died;[1] his son Stephen succeeded him; and, in the second year of his reign, the latter prince, deviating from his father's footsteps, openly invaded Dalmatia, where he experienced little difficulty in reducing by force, or intimidating by menaces, the garrisons of Zara, Spalatro, and Sebenigo.

The intelligence of this defection reached Venice in the usual course. There was every reason to forebode that, unless a remedy was speedily applied, the contagion would spread to the whole Venetian dominion on the Dalmatian coast; and Faliero, anxious to obviate the threatened danger, hastened in August, 1115,

[1] Wilken (*Gesta Alexii Comneni*, lib. iv. c. ii.).

with a powerful squadron, to the succour or subjugation of his continental subjects.[1] The repulse of an Hungarian force, sent forward to oppose his advance,[2] and the recovery of the various places which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, with the single exception of the citadel of Zara, which an Hungarian garrison held against all the efforts of his troops, involved neither difficulty nor loss: nor was the Doge inclined, in guarding against a recurrence of the evil, to proceed beyond the exaction of a few hostages from each colony, and the repetition of the oath of fealty. In the following spring, however, Faliero contemplated a return to Dalmatia, and the final reduction of Zara (October—November, 1115).

During the interval, the Emperor Henry V., allured by the sanctity and splendour of the shrine of the Patron-Evangelist, paid a devotional visit to Venice (March, 1116),[3] where he professed to be much struck by the situation of the city, the beauty of its buildings, and the excellence of its government; and the Doge, who had previously obtained, through his Primate Giovanni Gradenigo, a promise of assistance against Hungary from the Byzantine Court, was tempted by his success in that quarter to communicate to Henry the cause and plan of the approaching campaign.[4]

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 152); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.; Dandolo (lib. ix. 266).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate ubi suprâ.*

[3] Agostino Macedo (*Pictura Venetiæ*, p. 120: *Ven.* 1670, 4°).

[4] Wilken (*Gesta Alexii Comneni*, lib. iv. ch. ii.).

His Majesty lent an attentive ear;[1] he discovered a strong and lively interest in the welfare of the Republic; and, before he took his departure, he even declared a willingness to participate actively in the undertaking. Faliero, however, reopened the siege of Zara in the May of that year[2] without receiving any support from his allies: he had counted on their insincerity. A month after his arrival (June 30), an Hungarian force advanced to raise the blockade, and its approach afforded equal relief to the Doge and the Zaratines, of whom the former was burning with impatience, and the latter were exhausted by want and hardship. Dodoni hastened to oppose the progress of the enemy. His exertions experienced success; the Hungarians were completely routed; and Zara, succumbing at last to the pressure of famine, was forced to capitulate. The walls and bulwarks of Sebenigo, which had refused to admit the conqueror, were levelled with the ground; at Trau and Spalatro the people anticipated his approach by expelling their Hungarian governor and returning to their allegiance; and the Doge, having taken fresh hostages, returned a second time to Venice in the month of July, 1116, with an ample booty and a numerous train of prisoners.

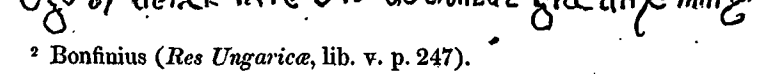
This new victory reflected equal credit on the moderation of the Doge, and on the gallant behaviour of the troops under his command; but it was so far from

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 485); Sandi (ii. p. 436); Marin (iii. p. 37).
[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 266).

accelerating the return of peace, that it had, on the contrary, the unfortunate effect of converting a jealous rival into an implacable enemy. No sooner was the King apprised of the unexpected issue of the late contest, and that the flower of his nobility was exposed to the inquisitive gaze of a Venetian populace, by whom the Hungarian standards taken in the battle were regarded as the proudest monuments of their triumph, than he despatched a third army into Dalmatia under one of his lieutenants. That army was allowed to approach without opposition within a few miles of Zara, at which point the Venetian forces commanded, as before, by Dodoni in person, were holding themselves in readiness to bar its farther passage. The struggle which ensued was bloody and protracted; each foot of ground was fiercely disputed; the tide of fortune fluctuated terribly; and the Doge, forgetful of his duty and station, plunged with the ardour of a Paladin into the heart of the fight. His culpable temerity was productive of the most deplorable results. As he was leading a final charge, the breast of Faliero was pierced by a well-directed shaft. He fell mortally wounded. His fall produced a panic among his followers; and the ruin of the army was involved in the death of the general. Wholly unnerved by the death of their noble leader, the Venetians abandoned the contest, and betook themselves to flight; the enemy engaged hotly in the pursuit; and so frightful was the carnage, that few succeeded in regaining their vessels, and in conveying the disastrous intelligence to Rialto.

The circumstances which had accompanied the rout at Zara were exactly of such a complexion as to enhance the apparent magnitude of the peril. The Republic took alarm. The necessity was generally acknowledged of adopting measures of a propitiatory nature toward the conqueror; and the same embassy which had negotiated with the Emperor Henry V. in 1111,[1] was at once despatched to procure from Stephen a permanent, or even a temporary, suspension of hostilities. A matter, wherein their Commune was anxious to employ a tone consistent with her safety, and not repugnant to her pride, required, on the part of the Deputies, the exercise of considerable address. The crafty eloquence of the orator Giustiniani who, instead of appealing to the doubtful lenity of the King, urged the expediency of terminating an unseemly difference between two Christian Powers, fellow-labourers in the same holy cause won for a pious associate, what might have been denied to a fallen enemy.[2] A truce of five years was concluded between Venice and Hungary; the former was allowed to retain or resume possession of her Colonies; and the body of Dodoni, which had been secured by some Hungarian soldiers during

[1] Vitali Faliero, the late Doge's cousin, Stefano Morosini, and Orso Giustiniani. See Marin (iii. p. 31). The following specimen of Ordelafo Faliero's handwriting is given by Zanetti (*Dell' Origine di Alcune Arti presso li Veneziani*, 1758).



[2] Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, lib. v. p. 247).

the engagement, having been restored at the solicitation of the Deputies to the Republic, was consigned with mournful solemnity to the vaults of the Ducal Chapel[1] (1117).

Such was the sad, yet glorious end of the second Faliero. In addition to his other public services, which were certainly most meritorious, the late Doge left to posterity two splendid and lasting monuments of his administration. In 1106, the year of the memorable fire, the celebrated *Pala d'Oro*, or carved slab of gold, which had been placed by Orseolo I. on the great altar in Saint Mark's, was enlarged at the cost of Faliero, and inlaid with gems of the choicest water; and it was during his reign, that the marshy ground in that part of the City adjoining the islet of Gemelle or Zimole, was converted into Public Docks for the reception of shipping. Those docks formed the nucleus of the famous Arsenal, which was long unsurpassed in Europe for beauty and excellence in its kind.

The late Doge left one son, Angelo, who was Procurator of Saint Mark from 1108 till 1132.

The successor of Faliero was Domenigo, the son of Giovanni Michieli of San Basilio, who was himself the son of Michieli I.[2] Giovanni, the father of the present Doge, had commanded the Venetian flotilla which took part in the Crusade of 1099, and he

[1] Paolo Morosini (lib. iv. p. 103); Pietro Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 23).

[2] Cigogna (*Iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. iv. pp. 515–25; and *infrâ*). "Cui successit," says the *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. v. 153, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii., "Dominicus Michael, vir bellicosus, et plenus dierum."

acquitted himself of the duties attached to that high post with considerable credit.

In the following year, Baldwin de Bourg, Count of Edessa, became the sovereign of a small kingdom and the inheritor of a crown of briars. The tide of fortune had again turned; the Mohammedan power was once more in the ascendant; and the Christians, whose ranks had been thinned by famine and disease, feebly though gallantly withstood the attacks of the formidable Yglasi, Emir of Damascus.[1] A handful of men was powerless before a host; the infidels pursued their conquests with vigour and success; and the banners of the Cross, beneath which so many brave warriors had fought and bled, disappeared in rapid succession from the Ports of the Ocean and the Cities of the Plain. This sombre prospect, while it shed a gloom over the most mercurial enthusiasm, prepared the Christian Commonwealth to appreciate to a fuller extent the value of Venetian co-operation; and in 1121 the Republic was conjured by the Courts of Rome and Jerusalem to participate in a new Crusade. The pontifical letter which was addressed to the Doge on this occasion, and in which the extreme necessity was urged of rendering prompt aid to the Pilgrims,[2] was read by him in open Arrengo; and the manly eloquence of Michieli II. gave colour to the picture, and weight to the testimony, of Calistus. He represented to his hearers, in the

[1] Michaud (iii. pp. 47, 48); Lebeau (xvi. p. 8).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. 153); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.

language of piety and patriotism, the dwarfish proportions to which the successes of the misbelievers had of late years reduced the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, the low ebb to which the fortunes and resources of the soldiers of the Cross had consequently sunk, and the despondency to which such a condition of affairs was gradually giving rise in every quarter. He recalled to their memory the former exploits of the Venetians in those distant countries, the fall of Jaffa and the Siege of Caiphas; and he shewed them how much it concerned the honour and advantage of the Commune to respond affirmatively to the present appeal of Christendom. "Venetians," concluded the Doge, "what splendid renown will your country acquire by bearing a share in this holy enterprise? You will be the admiration of Europe and Africa. The standard of Saint Mark will float triumphantly over the cities of Palestine; and by the extirpation of the infidel you will spread throughout the East the power and glory of the Venetian name!"[1]

These words quickened the pulsation of the national heart. Yet it was not to be concealed that, in some respects, the proposed expedition was wholly antagonistic to the present interests of the Republic. Thinking men bore in mind, that the five years' truce which was concluded with the King of Hungary in the summer of 1117, had almost expired. They perceived with anxiety that the Venetian dependencies on the opposite coast were in a more than ordinarily discon-

[1] Romanin (ii. p. 36).

tented and unsettled mood; and it was to be seriously dreaded that while the flower of their Navy was engaged in a distant and arduous enterprise, Dalmatia might revolt, and Stephen might even attempt a descent on the Lagoons. Setting aside these ultra-politic considerations, however, the popular assembly ultimately determined to lend the required support to the cause of Rome and the Faith: nor is it improbable that some precaution was taken against contingencies by the formation of a naval reserve. The whole of that year and a portion of 1122 were devoted to the equipment and organization of the new armament,[1] the principal command of which was to be intrusted to the Doge himself; and it was arranged that, during his absence, the management of public affairs should jointly devolve on his son Luchino and another Michieli, the member of a different branch of the same family. The 8th of August was fixed as the day of departure.

On its outward passage,[2] the Venetian fleet, which

[1] Da Canale (sect. 19); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 270); Sanudo (fol. 488).

[2] Itinerary from Venice to Jaffa:

From Venice to Parenzo are	100	Italian miles.
From Parenzo to Corfu	700	,,
From Corfu to Modon	300	,,
From Modon to Crete	300	,,
From Crete to Rhodes	300	,,
From Rhodes to Cyprus	300	,,

From Cyprus to Jaffa (three days' sail).

Reliquiæ Antiquæ, i. 237, where it is printed from a MS. of the fifteenth century in the Sloane Collection, British Museum.

The following is taken from the *Informacön for Pylgrymes* (*circà* 1500), which appears to be the earliest Hand-Book for Travellers extant:—

"A good provysyon whan a man is at Venyse, and purposeth by Goddis

consisted of forty galleys, eight-and-twenty palanders and transports, four large carricks, and other lighter craft, cast anchor off Bari, on the coast of Apulia,

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grace to passe by the se to porte Jaffe into the Holy Londe, and so to the Sepulchre of Our Lorde Jhesu Criste in Jerl'm, he must dispose hym in this wyse.

"Fyrste yf ye shall goe in a galey, make your covenaunte wyth the patron betyme. And chose you a place in the sayd galey in the overmest stage. For in the lowest under it is ryght evyl and smouldryng hote and stynkynge. And ye shal paye for youre ship freyghte and for meete and drynke to porte Jaffe, and agayne to Venyse L. Ducates for to be in a goode honest place, and to have your ease in the galey; and also to be cherysshed.

"Yf a man shall passe in a shyp or a caryk, thene chose you a chambere as nyghe the myddes of the shippe, as ye may. For there is leest rollynge or tomblynge to keepe your brayne and stomacke in tempere. And in the same chambere to keepe your thynges in sauf garde. And bye you at Venyse a padlocke to hange on the doore, whan ye shall passe into the londe. And ye shall paye for meete and drynke and shyppe freyghte to porte Jaffe, and agayne to Venyse xxx. Ducates at the leest.

"Also, whan ye shall make your covenaunte, take good hede, that the patron be bounde unto you all before the Duke of Venyse in a M. Ducates to kepe all manere covenauntes wyth you. That is to wyte, that he shall condute to certen havens by ye way to refresshe you, and to gete you fresshe water and fresshe brede and flesshe.

"Also, that he shall not tary (or) lenger, at noo haven (more) than thre dayes at the moost wythoute consent of you all. And that he shall not take into the vessell, neyther goynge nor comynge, noo manere of marchaundyse wythoute your lycense for to dysese you in your places. And also for taryinge of passages by the se.

"And by the havens, that here ben followynge, he shall lede you, yf ye woll.

From Venice to Pola	100 miles.
From Pola to Corfu	600 „
From Corfu to Modon	300 „
From Modon to Candia	300 „
From Candia to Rhodes	300 „
From Rhodes to Baaffe (Baffo) in Cyprus	400 „
From Baaffe to Port Jaffa	300 „

Informacön for Pylgrymes to the Holy Londe, 4to, 1824. (Roxburghe Club.)

where the Doge relieved the alarm of the inhabitants by an assurance of friendship and protection, and where the report reached him of an interdict, recently published by the son and successor of Alexius Comnenus, against the commerce of the Republic with the Lower Empire. From Bari, Michieli repaired to Corfu, where he had an intention of spending a portion of the winter; and in the early part of 1123, the fleet having quitted its moorings, set sail for Cyprus, at which point the Venetian commander expected to procure exact information touching the position and movements of the Egyptian armament, which was affording maritime co-operation with the land forces of the Emir of Damascus.

In the meantime, while the second Baldwin who had fallen, after a short and inglorious career, into the hands of his enemies, was languishing in the dungeons of Charan, the Pilgrims, commanded provisionally by Eustace, Count of Sidon, were cooped up within the walls of the Holy City, where they were propitiating Heaven with fasting and prayer. Presently the tocsin was heard to sound; the gates of Jerusalem opened; and 3,000 men, headed by the Patriarch, who bore aloft a portion of the true Cross, issued forth into the plain of Ascalon to oppose the forces of Balac, the successor of the Emir Yglasi. The fewness of their numbers was, to some extent, supplied by the fulness of their faith; their slow and measured pace, their solemn and imposing bearing, their seeming reliance on a higher Power, produced in the breasts of the

Mussulmen an involuntary sensation of wonder and awe; and as the Pilgrims advanced, half in order of battle, half in attitude of prayer, the foe stood motionless and passive spectators of the scene. Suddenly a flash of the electric fluid, more than ordinarily vivid, lighted up the heavens; the misbelieving host was struck by a panic terror; and with mingled feelings of delight and astonishment the Christians beheld them retreat in precipitate confusion on Ascalon. Still, the Crusaders could hardly but be aware that the advantage which they had thus gained was purely ephemeral; and there was too much reason to fear that, so soon as the followers of Balac recovered their composure, they would not fail to construe a natural phenomenon into a feint or an artifice of the enemy. It was at this momentous crisis that the Venetian fleet hove off Cyprus.[1]

On being interrogated by Michieli, the Cypriots stated that the lieutenant of the Sultan of Egypt was at present proceeding with his squadron, amounting, it was said, to upward of a hundred sail, in the direction of Jaffa, of which they conjectured that he intended to form the siege; and his Serenity had nearly resolved to act on this information, when other and more recent tidings arrived, that the Egyptian commander, altering his course, was now on his way to Ascalon,[2] where

[1] Marino Sanudo the Elder (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, xi.); Bernard (*De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, ch. 117–18–19); Sicard, Bishop of Cremona (*Chronicon, ad Annos* 1122–3–4).

[2] Guizot (*Collection de Mémoires relatives à l'Histoire de France*; Guillaume de Tyr, *Hist. des Croisades*, lib. xii. p. 234, et seq.)

Balac more urgently required his support. The Doge determined to lure him from his design; and, in order to make his final dispositions for the battle which was evidently at hand, he summoned a Council of War. In that Council he expressed his decided opinion in favour of a division of the armament into two parts, one of which, comprising the flower and real strength of the fleet, should retire on Jaffa, and should lie under the coast in a position where it might be concealed from immediate observation; while the other, consisting merely of transports and vessels of burden, should put out to sea, as though engaged in conveying pilgrims from Cyprus. The proximate object of this stratagem was to create a diversion from Ascalon. It succeeded admirably. The enemy no sooner descried the fictitious convoys in the misty twilight of a January morning, than they were naturally prompted by the hope of plunder, and by the prospect of an easy prey, to enter into the pursuit; the transports, affecting to be struck with dismay, fell back on the main squadron to which, by an adroit method of retreat, they served to form an excellent cover; and the moment of junction was the preconcerted signal for the general advance. As the two forces approached each other, the day broke; a rosy purple tint suffused the eastern sky; and the sea beneath, unless where a gentle breeze slightly ruffled its glimmering surface, was calm and glassy. At the same time, the gradual dispersion of the false front revealed the Venetian fleet drawn up in order of battle; and before the

Mussulmen had leisure to complete their preparations, the action had commenced. The flagship of Michieli, an exceedingly swift and strong vessel which moved somewhat in the van of the rest, opened the attack by bearing down on that of the Egyptian commander and striking it with such tremendous violence, that the latter, unable to withstand the shock, foundered with the admiral and the whole crew. This bold and successful manœuvre decided the fortune of the day. The enemy, perfectly disheartened by the loss of their leader, were thrown into inextricable confusion; the Venetians redoubled their efforts; the Egyptian galleys were enveloped and boarded on all sides; and, though dearly bought with the blood of his followers, the victory was soon secure in the hands of the Doge.[1] But the laurels of Michieli were tarnished by the massacre of a large proportion of the enemy's crews, and by the execution[2] of the principal officers. The carnage is said to have been so great that, for a wide space round, the sea was dyed to a deep scarlet hue[3] by the gore of the slaughtered Saracens, whose corpses might be seen floating in every direction; and there is a tradition that, long afterward, mariners, pointing with a shudder to the scene of the Battle of Jaffa, spoke of the waters thereabout as still putrid, and as apt to

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 154); Da Canale (sect. 19).

[2] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 968) relates with cold-blooded candour, how the Doge caused the commanders of the Egyptian galleys to be beheaded, "perchè erano Paesani." See also Michaud (*Bibliothèque des Croisades*, ii. p. 630).

[3] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 154).

impart a deadly infection to any vessels which might pass over the spot.[1]

Yet Michieli was not altogether satisfied with his success. News had reached him that ten Turkish galleons, laden with silks, spices; and other rich and precious merchandise, were riding at anchor off the coast of Egypt, counting apparently on his defeat at Jaffa. The triumph of the Venetian arms removed their sole chance of safety, and destroyed their sole means of escape; and the Doge experienced slight difficulty in securing these valuable prizes.

Meanwhile, however, his prolonged absence had begun to exhaust the patience of his expectant confederates whose position, though momentarily ameliorated by their recent success on the plain of Ascalon, was again becoming daily more critical; and the Venetian commander was still loitering on the scene of his last exploit, when he received a message, gently chiding him for his dilatoriness, reminding him of his sacred mission, and urging him to use all haste in repairing to the Holy City. A solemn deputation awaited the arrival of Michieli in the port of Jaffa; and thence he was conducted in triumph to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed with thanks and congratulations by the assembled Chiefs of the Crusade. The

[1] Cigogna (*Iscrizioni*, vol. iv. p. 598) tells us how Marco Barbaro, the lieutenant of the Doge, and Proveditor of the Fleet, cut off the arm of a Saracen, and with the blood which flowed from the wound drew a circle on his banner. "Hence," says the same writer, "that branch of the Barbaro family ever afterward assumed as their arms three roses in field azure, encircled by a vermilion ring in field white.

rout of the misbelievers at Jaffa had formed an ample source of wonder and delight, and one victory sufficed almost to obliterate the memory of many disasters. Still the Allies were sensible that their present situation scarcely admitted hesitation or repose; the severe check which his lieutenant had lately received at the hands of the Venetians was calculated to stimulate the Sultan of Egypt to fresh exertions; and a report was current that the Emir of Damascus might be expected to reach Jerusalem at no distant period, with a powerful and well-organized army. The Doge, therefore, whose position and personal character gave weight to his suggestions, successfully urged the necessity of having recourse to measures of a prompt and vigorous character; and when he perceived that his companions were wasting time in deliberating, whether they should open operations with the Siege of Tyre or that of Ascalon, Michieli proposed an appeal to the law of chance. The name of each place was inscribed accordingly on a thin slip of parchment, which was laid on one of the two altars of the church of St. Sepulchre; and amid the breathless suspense of the spectators, a young orphan advanced, and selected one of the slips.[1] The action relieved the embarrassment of the pilgrims, and sealed the fate of Tyre.[2] It was at once decided that the Barons should invest the city by land, while the Venetians afforded, as usual, maritime co-operation. But the habitual caution of the latter had gradually

[1] Bernardus Thesaur (*Ap.* Mur. vii. 757–8).

[2] Michaud (iii. p. 53).

introduced a system, which consisted in sharing, before they reaped, the fruits of victory; and anterior to his departure from the Holy City, the Doge insisted upon concluding with his obsequious Confederates a treaty of partition and commerce.

By this compact,[1] one third[2] of Tyre was assigned as a quarter to the Venetians: the two remaining thirds were vested in the King. In their Quarter the Islanders were to be under the control of their own *Bailo*, or Consul, and to be totally independent of Baldwin and his successors. All who chose to reside among them were to be considered amenable to the laws of Venice: yet should any citizen of the Republic batter or maim a subject of Baldwin, it was competent for a royal judge to exercise jurisdiction. The effects of all Venetians who might die intestate, or in shipwreck, were to be restored to their heirs, or to be consigned to the care of their resident Consul. Lastly, an annual sum of three hundred byzants of gold[3] or 150 Venetian *lire di piccioli*[4] was to be paid out of the treasury of Tyre to the Ducal Fisc, in consideration of which payment the Republic should contribute to the maintenance of the garrison. It was stipulated, moreover, that should Baldwin decline on his return from Charan to accept these terms, he forfeited, *ipso facto*, his title to the crown of Jerusalem; and there was also

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 275), where it is textually given.
[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 154–5).
[3] Depping (*Commerce du Levant*, i. p. 151).
[4] Girolamo Zanetti (*Dell' Origine e dell' Antichita della Moneta Viniziana*, p. 6).

a mutual understanding, that the eventual concurrence of the Republic in the reduction of Ascalon, involved the cession of similar rights and privileges in that town.[1] Having formed this sound basis of future operations, Michieli returned to Jaffa, whence he immediately repaired with his squadron to its new destination (January, 1123).

The glory of Tyre, the founder of Carthage, and the birthplace of Ulpian, had now departed from her, and her power had long since fallen. Yet she was still the same city which, during seven months, had checked in his victorious career the son of Philip of Macedon. She was indeed no longer Mistress of the seas. She had ceased indeed to be numbered among the Nations. Yet her colossal bulwarks[2] and battlements rose amid the waves as proudly as on the day, when she bade defiance to the most successful of antient conquerors; and, though the resources of her present defenders were straitened, the strength of her fortifications was unimpaired. Moreover, her garrison, of which seven hundred knights of Damascus composed the flower, was plentifully victualled, and was supplied with a copious store of munitions of every kind; and the courage and energy of the Tyrians were powerfully sustained by an assurance that, before their means of subsistence were exhausted, they would be relieved by the arrival of the Emir of Damascus with the Grand

[1] Sanudo the Elder (*Secreta*, ch. xi. p. 159); William of Tyre (lib. xii. xiii.)

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. 154).

Army. It was scarcely conceivable, however, that so strong a place could ever be taken; and those who had seen Biblos, Tripoli, Sidon, Cæsarea, and Saint Jean d'Acre, fall again in succession into the hands of the Pilgrims, cherished a confidence that, even if the Mohammedan cause should be ruined elsewhere, the Crescent would still continue to float over the walls of Tyre.[1]

On the side of the sea, this famous and antient City was protected by a double line of ramparts, as well as by the breakers and rocky escarpments, which had at all times rendered that coast peculiarly dangerous to any but the most experienced pilots. On the east side, which afforded the sole approach from the land, a triple girdle of walls was divided, at close and regular distances, by towers of stupendous size and altitude, and was enfossed by a deep and broad moat, into which the waters of the ocean were readily admissible by sluices. In the northern quarter of the City, and in a situation where it was overlooked and sheltered by the fortifications, lay the *Inner Harbour*, in which the Tyrian shipping usually found convenient and ample accommodation. This capacious Basin was now occupied by the Venetian fleet, while the troops of the Regent Eustace, by taking up a strong position on the east side, cut off all communication with the land, and established a complete blockade. The Confederates lost no time in making the necessary dispositions for the approaching struggle; the siege train was prepared; the mangonels and other projectile machines were

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii.)

ranged in order; stations were assigned to the several divisions of the Army and the Fleet; and, these preliminary arrangements having been concluded, the assault was opened from the north and east walls on the morning of the 16th of February, 1123.[1]

On both sides the preparations had been of a character, which indicated a resolution to neglect no means of insuring a favourable result; the siege-works had been constructed on a scale, commensurate with the magnitude of the design; and the moveable Towers, erected by the Latin engineers in juxtaposition, enabled the besiegers to fight on an equal footing with the defenders of the ramparts. The first onset which was truly fearful was the opening scene of a struggle between men of a different origin, of a different language, and of a different religion. The soldiers of the garrison who distinguished themselves by their martial and gallant bearing, and who exulted in the name of enemies of the Christian Faith, vied with their foes in feats of daring and hardihood. The Knights of Damascus were foremost in the fray; and their chivalric example served to stimulate the most timid and effeminate to join in upholding the cause of Mohammed. At the same time, the projectile machines were plied on both sides with untiring energy and terrible effect. Volleys of missiles of every description poured without intermission over the ramparts and against the Towers. The air was obscured by a tempest of arrows, darts, stones, and combustible matter; and the monotonous

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 240); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 271).

character of the spectacle was occasionally diversified only as some huge fragment of granite, launched from one of the siege-batteries, clave with tremendous rapidity the intervening space, and, not without inflicting serious damage, was shivered to atoms by coming into collision with the bulwarks; or else, perhaps, as was by no means of rare occurrence, the ponderous missile, overreaching its aim,[1] alighted with a fearful crash on the roof of some building within the precinct of the walls. The Allies, too, were often constrained, on their part, by the galling fire of the Tyrian batteries, which were under the superintendence of a celebrated engineer of Antioch, to beat a general retreat, and to suspend hostilities during several hours, while they took shelter and regained breath behind their intrenchments; and, during the earlier three months of operations, it not unfrequently happened that, after a momentary and deceptive lull which had almost induced the Christians to believe that the stubborn resistance of the enemy was at last overcome, the latter reopened the attack with greater fury and vehemence than before.

In the course of the same period the fortune of war had been changeful and dubious; and the belligerents were so equally matched, that it was difficult to conceive how either party could carry any permanent advantage over the other. Still, at first, victory leaned rather to the Tyrians, whose commanding position and more efficient artillery amply compensated for any

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 263).

short-coming in point of numerical strength; and this favourable appearance was not a little improved by the propagation of an ill-founded rumour that, while the Emir of Damascus was hastening to the relief of the City with a powerful army, a second fleet had already left the shores of Egypt to shatter or annihilate the squadron of the Doge of Venice. But the tide of success was speedily turned into a different channel by the arrival of Pontius, Count of Tripoli,[1] with a large reinforcement, and by the subsequent announcement of the total defeat of the Emir Balac by Jocelyn, Count of Edessa, in the vicinity of that town.[2] The exposure of the mangled and ghastly head of Balac to the gaze of the Tyrians confirmed in their eyes the latter intelligence, and spread among a population worn out by a lengthened blockade, and at last beginning to be conscious of the pressure of want, a general feeling of despair. Even the Damascene Knights, who had hitherto exhibited such exemplary bravery, began to falter, and all who had regarded the Emir's promise of succour as a certain resource in the hour of distress, no longer hesitated to admit the hopelessness of their cause. These circumstances combined to produce in the minds of the besieged a strong tendency to submission, and a decided resolution to hazard a course from which they had been, in large measure, deterred heretofore by the prevailing superstition that no quarter was to be expected from

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii.)

[2] Michaud (*Hist. des Croisades*, lib. v. p. 55).

the truculent and bloodthirsty foes with whom it was their lot to deal. Their pacific overtures, however, were at once reciprocated; and, the Allies having readily acceded to a declaration that, on the cession of the place, the inhabitants would be suffered to remain or depart unharmed, the Tyrian authorities agreed to sign the articles of a capitulation, which took effect on the 29th of June (1123),[1] four months and a half after the commencement of the siege. On the following day[2] the royal standard of Jerusalem was hoisted over the principal gate of the City; the banner of the Count of Tripoli waved from the Tower of Tanaira; and on the Green Tower was planted the Lion of Saint Mark.[3]

In connexion with the siege of Tyre by the Latins, a fact is related which forms a curious episode in the history of that event. It seems that the monotony of a protracted siege having had the gradual effect of exhausting the patience of the soldiery, the latter indulged their spleen by expressing secret mistrust of the good faith of their confederates; the jaunty and contented air of the Venetians, who were more plentifully supplied with provisions than their associates, and less exposed to attack, served to irritate the feeling of impatience, while it gave colour and strength to a suspicion of treachery; and it soon became a common

[1] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 278).

[2] Marino Sanudo Torsello (lib. iii. part vi. ch. 12); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 271).

[3] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 276); Bernard (*De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, ch. 120); Michaud (*Bibl. des Croisades*, ii. p. 632).

saying in the camp, that when the enemy appeared, the Islanders contemplated the desertion of the pilgrims, and a return to their ships. This unfounded and scandalous insinuation reached in due course the ears of Michieli; the Doge, who was at first inclined to be incredulous, shrewdly surmised that it originated from a higher source than the ranks of the army; and he determined not to tolerate any longer such injurious aspersions on himself and his countrymen. Accordingly he gave an order to dismantle some of the vessels of the fleet; and, so soon as the order had been executed, he repaired with a party of marines, armed with their oars and hatchets, and laden with a portion of the rigging, to the camp of the other chiefs of the expedition. To their look of surprise at the unexpected visit, and the strange demeanour of the visitors, the Venetian prince replied by disclosing the nature of the information which had reached him, and by shewing the method which he had adopted of proving the falsity and injustice of the charge. "Those," concluded the indignant Michieli, pointing with energy, as he spoke, to his stern retinue and their burden, "those who share the glory of the enterprise are prepared to share also its perils, and the Venetians will no longer, at least, submit to the odious imputation of indifference or perfidy." The language and air of the speaker produced in the minds of his hearers a feeling of astonishment, not unmingled with awe. They endeavoured to calm his emotion. They earnestly ignored any abatement of friendship or con-

fidence toward the Venetians. They unanimously agreed to resume the suspended attack, and they conjured their illustrious ally to return to his position, and to act with them, for the future, in harmonious concert.[1]

Michieli allowed himself to be persuaded; and from a wish to conciliate his needy confederates, who were impoverished by the length of the siege, the Doge lent them a sum equal to 100,000 ducats.[2] This large disbursement, after his long absence from Venice, reduced Michieli himself to the necessity of paying the Venetian troops with leathern money,[3] struck by his private order, and stamped on the obverse with an effigy of Saint Mark, on the reverse with the arms of his own family. The issue of the new coin, which is said to have been termed a Micheletto, was accompanied by a guarantee that, on the return of the fleet to Venice, it should be redeemed at once at its full nominal value; and this engagement appears to have been discharged with scrupulous exactitude. The incident of the loan and the publication of certain leathern specie, marked with the arms of the reigning Doge, is corroborated by the circumstance that the Ducal House of Michieli subsequently bore on their scutcheons, as a memorial of such a circumstance, a Ducat of gold.[4]

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[1] Da Canale, *Cron. Ven.* (sect. 20). [2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 154).

[3] Pietro Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 26); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 424); *Spiegazione della Moneta del Doge Dom Michieli in Soria*, *Ap.* Calogiera, XXV. (where an illustration of the coin is given, weight 78 carats).

[4] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 270).

In the meantime, the fall of Tyre had become generally known. In the Holy City, it soon formed the standard topic of conversation and the common burden of choruses; and there was an ovation throughout Palestine when the people learned that the Sacred Banner of the Cross floated over the loftiest tower of the city, supported, on one side, by the standard of Saint Mark, on the other by the flag of Tripoli.[1] It was not long afterward that the unfortunate Baldwin was released from the dungeons of Charan,[2] and returned to a capital and a throne which he owed to strangers.

But while the Doge of Venice eyed, on his part, with unfeigned satisfaction the new acquisitions of the Republic, and while he participated in the general exhilaration, the edict of Johannes Comnenus still haunted his thoughts. It was not in the new Kingdom of Judah that a people, whose early associations and growing ambition attached them to the empire of Constantinople, could be expected to quench their thirst for wealth, or to gratify their love of monopoly. It was true that the ports of Syria presented a convenient and regular market for their cargoes; but they also offered a market for the cargoes of Genoa and Pisa; and the Republic felt that a trade in which her rivals were placed in all respects on a par with herself, was a very slender equivalent for the exclusive privi-

[1] Bernard the Treasurer (*Acquisitio Terræ Sanctæ*, ch. 120).

[2] William of Tyre (lib. xiii. p. 278); Sicard, Bishop of Cremona, *Chronicon*, fol. 593; *Ap.* Murat. iii.

leges which she had heretofore enjoyed in the Bosphorus and the Archipelago. At the period when the Venetians first took an active share in the Crusades, they half imagined that they were moving in advance of the other mercantile communities of France and Italy, and that, by forestalling and outstripping competition, they would secure to themselves throughout the Holy Land privileges scarcely inferior in value to those which they already claimed in the ports of the Lower Empire. In this hope or expectation they were disappointed to a considerable extent. In Ascalon, Saint Jean d'Acre, and Tyre they had acquired a preponderance indeed; but Genoese traders were establishing their marts in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Ashur; the Pisans had obtained a quarter in Antioch and in Laodicea; and a Pisan churchman was now Patriarch of the Holy City. It was not unnatural that such a complexion of affairs should excite extreme discontent; and the public mind of Venice was already in a predisposed state of ferment, when certain intelligence arrived of the prohibitory edict published by the son of Alexius Comnenus against the commercial intercourse of the Republic with his Empire.

At the outset of her career, Venice had sought with avidity, and had preserved with care, the patronage of the Byzantine emperors, from whom her patricians were fond of tracing their lineal descent; and, prior to the commencement of the Crusades, her merchantmen formed, with one exception,[1] the sole channel of

[1] Amalfi.

communication between Europe and the Levant. This connexion was neither disinterested in its nature nor one-sided in its advantages: it was, on the contrary, emphatically one of mutual policy and benefit. To the national resources and industrial wealth of the Islanders the alliance gave an extraordinary and continuous stimulus. From time almost immemorial, the chief magistrate of the Republic had borne, as a peculiar mark of imperial favour, the honorific title of Hypatos, Protospatarius, or Protosebastos; and during the ninth and tenth centuries, the flower of the Greek marine was composed of the seamen of Venice and Amalfi. Above all, at a period when the antient monarchy of Rome was fast crumbling to decay, and the throne of the Cæsars already began to totter ominously on its base, the Venetians had more than once afforded invaluable assistance to their old, and, as it seemed, their natural ally. The battles of Crotona, of Tarentum, and of Butrinto, were always to be remembered with gratitude and pride; and it was generally felt, that the defeat of the Normans in 1081 on the Bay of Durazzo by the illustrious Selvo, had alone averted the imminent ruin of the empire. On the other hand, it was to be conceded that, since their country had acquired importance in the scale of nations, the language and bearing of the Venetians toward the subjects of the Court of Constantinople had undergone a great change. Privilege had begun to wear the form of prerogative. The charter wrung from Alexius Comnenus in 1085 seemed to have turned the brains of

the merchants; and they now viewed with an eye of scorn a Power whose weakness was so transparent through its prodigality. Thus it happened that when Johannes Comnenus succeeded in 1118 to the throne of his father, he found Constantinople already parcelled out among a wealthy colony of contumelious traders, even among whom it was easy to distinguish the Islanders by their egregious haughtiness and insolence. The national honour was outraged; the majesty of the Roman purple was violated; and in the fourth year of his reign, Calojohannes conceived the design of getting rid, by one sweeping measure, of an evil which was daily growing more monstrous and irremediable.

Accordingly, in the course of the year 1122, while it was still unsuspected that any such design was meditated, a decree appeared, commanding the Venetian Residents in Constantinople and the other Greek ports to quit the imperial dominions, and declaring the suspension of all intercourse between the Powers. This edict, though to some extent susceptible of evasion, was severely felt by the commercial world of Venice. A transitory sensation of surprise at the abruptness of the step was rapidly succeeded by an unmeasured feeling of angry indignation; the people readily lent themselves to the cause of a large and influential class; the whole capital echoed a strain of invective and imprecation; and the means of reprisal at once became a leading theme of conversation and debate. The fleet, under Michieli himself, which had

just accomplished, in conjunction with the other pilgrims, the reduction of Tyre, was at present upon its return to Europe in anticipation of the winter: it was now decided that, on his homeward course, the Doge should scour the Greek seas, and teach the perfidious ruler of a perfidious nation to respect the Lion of Saint Mark.

Charged with that terrible mission, Michieli, having taken leave of the Barons in the course of June or July, 1123, bade farewell to the shores of Palestine, and shaped his course for Rhodes, where he expected to procure a fresh supply of stores, of which the troops were greatly in want. The Rhodians, however, pleading their oath of allegiance to the Byzantine Court as a subterfuge, declined to satisfy the demand; the Venetians possessed every inclination to appeal to force; and the Island was occupied and laid under heavy contributions.[1] From Rhodes the fleet proceeded to Scio,[2] where it was the intention of the Doge to establish his quarters for the winter. In the following spring (1124), he successively invested and sacked Andros, Samos, Lesbos, Mitylene, and the island of Modon, in the Morea;[3] all the Ionian Isles, and a portion of the Peloponnesus, fell a prey to fire and Venetian steel; and everywhere the youth of both sexes were reduced to servitude. The humiliation of the Lower Empire was speedily followed by the recovery of the Dalmatian fiefs from the Hungarians;

[1] *Cronaca Altinate*, v. 155; Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 271).
[2] *Cron. Alt. loco citato.* [3] Lebeau (xvi. p. 18).

Zara, Trau, Spalatro, and Sebenigo, which had again renounced, at the instigation of Stephen,[1] their allegiance to the Republic, were again reduced to submission; and a heap of shapeless and neglected ruins was shown by the succeeding generation as a monument of the might of Venice and the contumacy of Belgrado.[2] At Zara, the Venetians made a division of their spoil; after setting aside a third for the widows, orphans, and poor, they appropriated the residue.[3] These brilliant exploits brought the campaign to a close; and in June, 1124, Michieli returned to his capital, after an absence of one year and ten months. The fame of his victories had gone before him; notice of the valuable treaty, concluded between him and the King of Jerusalem in the preceding year, had also reached Rialto; and the day, on which the Doge made his entry into the City, was a day of jubilee. Michieli had certainly earned a title to the national gratitude by his achievements as a soldier and a diplomatist; his successful negotiations endeared him more particularly to that class, with which the dominant passion was a lust of gain; and there were few in the community, who kindled not into warm admiration at the thrilling recital of the Battle of Jaffa and the Siege of Tyre.

The trophies, which the victor had brought from

[1] Bonfinius (dec. ii. p. 249).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. 155). On this occasion, says Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 272), some of the Dalmatian fiefs received new *podeste*. Sebastiano Ziani was sent to Sebenigo, Giovanni Badoer to Trau, and Pietro Gradenigo to Spalatro.

[3] *Cronaca Altinate, ubi suprâ.*

the East were of no ordinary kind. They consisted of the ten Turkish galleons and their rich freights, the spoils of Tyre, Rhodes, and the Ionian Isles, and other miscellaneous articles of plunder, among which not the least prized were the embalmed remains of Saint Donatus and Saint Isidore.

At the epoch, when Venice became an acknowledged nursery of the Arts, the exploits of the intrepid and unconquerable Michieli,[1] presenting a series of striking episodes, naturally suggested subjects for the pencils of the Great Masters, and the leading events of the late reign gradually occupied three entire compartments on the walls of the celebrated *Sala dello Scrutinio*, the decorations of which have been so minutely described by the pen of Bardi. The first of these panels painted by Santo Peranda in the beginning of the seventeenth century, on a commission from the Doge Marino Grimani (1595-1606), represented all the stirring incidents of the memorable Battle of Jaffa (1123), and was substituted for an earlier picture of which the subject is unknown, by Cagliari. The second panel, which was from the hand of Antonio Aliense, is devoted to the siege and fall of Tyre; and in the last, which is purely apocryphal, and which was executed by Giulio Dal Moro, we see the magnanimous Doge declining to receive the Crown of Sicily proffered to

[1] In the Palazzo Michieli at S. Apostoli were long, and are perhaps still preserved, some curious armour and standards of the twelfth century, which are said by some to have once belonged to the Doge Domenigo. Cigogna, however (*Iscriz.* iv. pp. 515–25), is rather doubtful.

him by the people, whom we are taught to suppose that he has just delivered from an invader.

Two years subsequently to these occurrences, the island of Curzola having seceded from its allegiance, and having been recovered by Marsilio Giorgio, a Venetian privateer, was enfeoffed to him; and in 1127 a squadron of fourteen galleys, which had been sent to the Mediterranean to protect the Venetian flag in that sea, took possession of Cephalonia, one of the Ionian Isles, which still belonged at this period to the Lower Empire.

In the following year, the Doge, like so many of his predecessors, formed a wish to pass the remainder of his days in the privacy of the cloister; he selected as the place of his retirement the Abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore which had been founded, a century and a half before, by the monk Morosini. Michieli survived his pious resolution a few months only; the vaults of San Giorgio were opened to receive his remains; and on his tomb the Venetians wrote:—*Terror Græcorum jacet hic* (1128). At a later period, a finely executed bust of the Doge, in marble, from the chisel of Dal Moro, was placed near his monument.[1]

At the period when Michieli II. ascended the throne (1117),[2] no steps of any kind had been taken toward the general nocturnal illumination of Venice; and consequently, when the daylight failed, the City was left in a state bordering on total obscurity, save where a

[1] Cigogna (*Iscrizioni*, iv. pp. 404–5–6).

[2] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 359); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 555).

small oil lamp, suspended over the door of a chapel or a monastery, afforded a faint and flickering light to the contiguous buildings. Watchmen had been instituted indeed at a very early epoch,[1] as well as certain officers or overseers with local authority entitled *Capi dei Contradi* (Chiefs of the Streets), on whom devolved the duty of maintaining order and tranquillity in their respective parishes: nor can it be well doubted that in cases, where a person of rank and distinction had occasion to traverse the streets by night, he was amply protected by his linkmen and servants. The comparative security of a class did not, however, invalidate to any material extent the ground of general complaint. It was found that the darkness abetted the designs of sharpers and every other sort of malefactor; robberies were committed with impunity; acts of violence were boldly perpetrated, the offenders counting on the difficulties which attended detection and identification, and history furnished too many examples of the sacrifice of the life of a Doge mainly by this want. Besides, in a capital where the streets were regularly intersected by narrow canals, and where a public way abutted sometimes in the lagoon itself, the absence of illumination was felt with peculiar severity; and as the metropolis became more densely populated, and more wealthy, the evil grew perfectly insupportable. A scheme was therefore devised in the time of Michieli II. (1117–28) by

[1] It was not till a century later that the first London watch was instituted by Henry III.

which a small lamp was fixed at the corner of every street in those recesses which are ordinarily left in Catholic cities for images of the Virgin or some favourite Saint; the choice of such a receptacle was principally guided by a wish to impart a religious attribute to the new institution; and the trifling outlay, which was necessarily involved, was defrayed by the Government.[1] The introduction of artificial light into the streets of such a large mercantile city as Venice was attended by incalculable advantage to the community. The measure also indicated a progressive step in Venetian civilization.[2]

Michieli the Second was succeeded by his son-in-law Pietro Polani,[3] who was only in the thirtieth year of his age, but who was recommended to the vacant magistracy by his family connexions as well as his high personal character. His election, however, was by no means unopposed. An influential party, consisting of Arrigo, the son of Domenigo Dandolo of San Silvestro, and several members of the noble House of Badoer, attempted to resist his pretensions,[4] and the success of Polani in gaining his object engendered a feeling of ill-will between his family and that of Dandolo, which more than once threatened to

[1] Galliciolli (*Memorie*, lib. i. ch. 8, sect. 19).

[2] Mutinelli (*Del Costuma Veneziano*, p. 49). "In questa guisa," observes this writer, "Venezia era illuminata quando alcune citta ch'or tanto si danno vanto per una comoda e splendida illuminazione giacevano immerse in profonda oscurita."

[3] Harl. MSS. 3549, fol. 13; De Monacis, fol. 60 (Add. MSS. 8574).

[4] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. 156); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 184).

endanger the public peace. It was to no purpose that, to conciliate the malcontents, the Doge raised their leader in 1132, on the decease of Giovanni Veneto, to the metropolitanate, at a time when Dandolo was still young, and his abilities untried; and the wound long remained unhealed.

The Republic of Venice, though the greatest, was not the only State which owed its existence to the fall of the Roman empire in the West. There were several other towns on the Adriatic which traced their independence to the same cause; among the rest were Pesaro, Senigaglia, and Fano. These places had hitherto succeeded in maintaining with each other relations of amity; but in 1141, the thirteenth year of the reign of Pietro Polani, a secret conspiracy was framed against Fano by her neighbours, to effect a partition of her territory between them. The intended victims of this plot were forewarned of the danger which awaited them; in their predicament they applied for protection to the Republic, and they consented to purchase the boon with an oath of allegiance to the Doge, and an annual tribute of 1,000 pounds of oil to the Church of Saint Mark. A free trade was, at the same time, instituted between Fano and the Lagoon; and Venice and her new dependency engaged to afford each other mutual support.[1]

Two years after the acquisition of Fano, the Paduans conceived (1143) a fresh source of annoyance to their

[1] Amiani (*Memorie Storiche della Citta di Fano*, pp. 140–1); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 279); Dolfino, *Annali*, 17 (King's MSS. 149).

powerful neighbour in the diversion of the Brenta from its natural bed by the creation of an artificial canal.[1] The Republic at once demanded an explanation of the insult, and the removal of so serious an obstruction to trade; the message of the Doge, as on a prior occasion, was treated with contumely, and it became necessary to resort to compulsion. A body of troops, jointly commanded by Guido Montecchio, a Veronese,[2] and Pietro Gambacurta, was taken accordingly into Venetian pay; and a second battle ensued on the banks of the Brenta, in which the enemy were routed with a loss of between 300 and 350 prisoners. There was no design, however, on the part of the Republic, to press the advantage thus easily gained; the defeat itself was considered a sufficient chastisement; and on the Senate of Padua affording an assurance that it had harboured no intention of giving umbrage to Venice, the captives were restored to liberty.[3] The newly created canal had probably rendered the Brenta too shallow to admit the approach of a fleet, and the Venetians might have had no national force immediately available for military operations: yet it cannot but be suspected that, in enlisting the services of

[1] Mutinelli (*Annali*, p. 29). This was a source of peculiar inconvenience and vexation to the Republic, inasmuch as the greater part of her supply of fresh water was obtained from that river.

[2] Diedo (i. p. 64). The choice of Montecchio was a happy one: for it appears that the Paduans had merited the vengeance of Verona by a similar operation on the Adige.

[3] *Cronica di Marco . . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. 259. It is to be observed that the chronology of this work is not in conformity with that of the majority of writers.

mercenary troops in this instance, the Islanders were partly actuated by a desire to inflict a still sharper sting on the pride of the Parent City.

In 1145 a collision took place between Venice and Pisa, in consequence of an attempt of the latter on Pola; and a war would have followed, had not the Holy See, solemnly deprecating such unseemly and treacherous disunion in the Christian Commonwealth,[1] assumed the office of intercessor, and succeeded in restoring amicable relations between the two Powers.

The sack of the Ionian Isles and the other imperial dependencies, during the campaign of 1123–4, by the late Michieli II., gave inconceivable offence to the haughty and choleric Calojohannes; and, after an unusually long reign of five-and-twenty years, that prince had sunk to his grave in 1143, the bitter and implacable enemy of Venice and the Venetian name. He was succeeded by his son Emmanuel who, though far inferior to him in moral rectitude, possessed an equally strong will, an equally powerful understanding, and a much cooler temper.

Meanwhile, Roger II., the nephew of Robert Guiscard, having united under his sway Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, had conceived the bold and ambitious design of embodying that monarchy with the territories still belonging to the empire of the East, and of transferring to his own brows the golden diadem which was at present a heirloom in the House of Comnenus.

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. xiii.); Roncioni (*Istorie Pisane*, v. 256); Dolfino, *Annali*, 18 (King's MSS. 149).

With this object in view, the King of Sicily invaded the imperial frontier in 1147, took Thebes and Corinth, ravaged a large portion of Livadia, and finally obtained possession of Corfu, where he planted a Sicilian garrison. But Emmanuel had not regarded these hostile movements without concern; so soon as he was fully apprised of the plans and intentions of Roger, the Emperor had hastened to prepare for war; and one of his earliest cares was to renew the relations, which had been suspended during the greater part of his father's reign, with the Republic (1147). The bearer of the message of reconciliation was instructed to urge to Polani, on his master's behalf, that the son could not be justly accounted responsible for the acts of his father; to intimate that his present Majesty was perfectly prepared not only to re-establish the friendship which had at all times subsisted between the Byzantine Court and the Commune of Venice, but to throw open to Venetian traders the ports of Cyprus, Candia, and Megalopolis, which had been expressly reserved in the chrysobole accorded in 1085 to the Republic by his grandfather Alexius.[1] In conclusion, he was charged to represent the magnitude and imminence of the danger to which the Lower Empire was at present exposed by the Sicilian invasion, and to invoke the aid of the Venetians in the recovery of Corfu, with which undertaking it was proposed to open the campaign of 1148.

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 282); P. Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 28, edit. 1576); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 391).

As Emmanuel had probably foreseen, his pacific advances were treated with favour. The Republic did not object, under the altered circumstances, to close the rupture, which had now subsisted upward of a quarter of a century, and to resume her intercourse with the Byzantine Government; and the Doge assured the Envoy that that clause of the compact, which touched the participation of his Commune in the Siege of Corfu, should receive prompt execution.[1]

The Republic was, in secret, thoroughly enraptured at the turn which affairs had now taken. It was true, that the long suspension of the chrysobole had not been attended by the ruinous results, which it might have entailed at a period when Venetian commerce was less widely diffused over Europe and Asia. Yet it still remained an evil of no ordinary magnitude; and to whatever extent the severity of the measure was possibly mitigated by evasion, the complaint among the mercantile class had become daily more loud. But the Venetians had never dreamed that the Byzantine Court would ultimately condescend to take the initiative, and consequently much less had they imagined it would be prepared to make such valuable concessions in their favour. Besides, Sicily was a Power, which the Republic had reason to regard, at this period, with peculiar malevolence, her commerce having suffered much of late years from

[1] The ratification of the new Commercial Treaty, the preliminaries and basis of which had been already arranged, was intrusted to Andrea Zeno and Domenigo Morosini, who were sent to Constantinople for that purpose.

the pirates who, with the assumed collusion of Roger, infested that coast; her aggregate loss from the source in question was estimated at not less than 4,000,000 crowns;[1] and it is natural to conceive that, apart from other considerations, she was far from ill disposed to draw the sword in a cause, which promised to afford the means of reprisal on the Sicilians and their ruler.

Agreeably to the assurance given to the Emperor, a fleet of fifty-four sail, under the Doge in person, left the Lagoon for the Mediterranean in the early part of the year (1148). But the armament had scarcely reached Caorlo, when the sudden indisposition of Polani[2] obliged him to retrace his steps and to sanction the devolution of the command in chief upon his son, the Count of Arbo, and his brother, the Bishop of Castello; and, under the joint conduct of Reniero and Giovanni Polani, the island squadron duly arrived at Corfu, where it effected a junction with the Greek fleet, already marshalled in front of that place.

The defenders of Corfu, inspired by a just confidence in their advantageous position, and imbued with a deep hatred of Greek tyranny, were fully prepared to resist the efforts of the Allies to the last extremity; and it soon became tolerably manifest that, so long as the means of subsistence remained, any attempt to reduce the place must be ineffectual.

[1] Marin (iii. lib. i. ch. ix.).

[2] *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 9 (Harl. MSS. No. 4820); P. Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 47 (King's MSS. 148); *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 157); Da Canale (sect. 24); Dolfino, *Annali*, 17 (King's MSS. 149).

Although the Greeks, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, who commanded them in person, spared no exertions in the attainment of the desired object, three months passed away, in fact, without producing any result; and it cannot be surprising to find, that the unsuccessful nature of the operations had the effect of breeding disunion among the confederates. In the third month of the siege, a quarrel arose on some slight pretence between a company of Greeks and one of Venetians, who happened to be encamped in contiguous quarters; words grew high: an appeal was made to arms. Gradually the fray thickened; both sides gained numbers and strength, the new comers naturally falling into the ranks of their countrymen; and the active interference of Azuches, the Greek admiral who arrived after some delay with a strong body of troops to separate the combatants, while it appeased the tumult, exasperated the Venetians who were implicated in the broil to such a degree, that they refused to act any longer with the forces of the Emperor, and withdrew in their ships to the islet of Asteria, situated between Ithaca and Cephalonia.[1] Here they discovered the imperial barge lying at anchor, and the sight suggested to the mariners a droll expedient for indulging their resentment. Having decked the cabin of the vessel with some arras and finery, which fell into their hands, they procured an Ethiopian, in ridicule of the swarthy complexion of Emmanuel, and, having

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche Storiche*, p. 203).

placed on his shoulders, with mock solemnity, the sacred robe of purple, they placed him on a chair of state, and saluted him with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. Comnenus was severely irritated when this gross and malicious affront was brought to his notice: yet the Emperor felt that it was hardly judicious, in the present aspect of affairs, to endanger the alliance by giving vent to his feelings; and the offenders were easily enticed by the proclamation of an amnesty to return to their post.

The efforts of the Confederates had been incessant. But the resistance of the besieged was pertinacious; and Corfu only yielded to the pressure of famine in the month of September.[1] The conquerors obtained immediate possession; a division of the Greek army superseded the Sicilian garrison; and the Venetian commanders, considering that the Republic had now acquitted herself of her engagements with the Byzantine Court, determined to direct their course homeward. They had barely lost sight of Corfu, when they fell in with nineteen armed privateers, carrying the colours of the King of Sicily; the strangers were on their return from a foraging cruise on the Bosphorus, and were richly laden with booty;[2] and they not unnaturally sought to evade a collision with the greatly superior force, which was bearing down upon them. In that endeavour, they failed to succeed; the prizes were easily secured; and the

[1] Nicetas (lib. i. p. 58); Da Canale (sect. 25).
[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. ch. xiii.)

conquerors, in whose breasts the advantage thus gained without difficulty had awakened an appetite for plunder, shaped their course for the coast of Sicily. The whole island was given up to havoc. The fields were harrowed by the sword. The orchards and vineyards were stripped. The hamlets were depopulated and burned. In such a manner Sicily was unexpectedly made to atone for the great losses which the privateers of Roger had inflicted, a quarter of a century before, on Venetian commerce.

But on their return home the fierce exultation of the victors was moderated by the sad intelligence that the illness of the Doge had been recently (August, 1148) attended by a fatal result. When the fleet reentered the Venetian waters, the Doge was announced to be no more; and Giovanni and Reniero might share a regret that they had not been able to soothe by their presence the last moments of a brother and a parent.[1]

In the choice of a successor to Polani, the popular assembly fixed on Domenigo Morosini who, in conjunction with Andrea Zeno, had in the preceding year been sent to Constantinople to conclude the mercantile treaty with Emmanuel Comnenus. In addition to this diplomatic service, the new Doge had acquired considerable renown in the wars of the Crusades, where he served under the banners of Faliero II. and Michieli II. But he was now advanced in years; and

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 283).

he was forced to resign to his son Domenigo who, on his accession, was created Count of Zara,[1] those more active and arduous duties which were inseparable from the functions of the Crown.

The first care of Morosini was the termination of the scandalous feud, which had now lasted upward of a quarter of a century, between the Church and the State, and the violence of which had ultimately reached such a climax that the Patriarch Arrigo Dandolo and his party were obliged to quit the Dogado. No hinderance was offered to their departure; but their dwellings, not excepting the palace of Dandolo, which was immediately contiguous to the church of San Silvestro, were at once demolished by the order or permission of Polani. To mollify the persecuted Faction, and to appease the complaints of the Holy See, the new Doge caused these houses to be reconstructed at the public expense; and the exiles, satisfied by that concession, and well pleased at the opportunity which the change of administration afforded of terminating the rupture, readily complied with the invitation of Morosini to return to their country. They were unexceptionally reinstated in their former position; their Leader resumed the duties of the metropolitanate; and the happy reconciliation, which had been thus effected between the two families, was shortly afterward celebrated by the espousal of Andrea Dandolo, the

[1] Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. p. 138); *Topografia Veneta* (anonymous, i. p. 19); Dolfino, *Annali*, 17 (King's MSS. 149).

Primate's nephew, with the daughter of Reniero Polani, the late Doge's son.[1]

In 1150 the Republic appeared in arms against the corsairs of Ancona, whose depredations had gained a point at which it became necessary to resort to vigorous measures of self-defence, and a small fleet was sent to the Adriatic to reconnoitre, and to make prizes of any privateers which fell in its way. The result of this step was the capture of five Anconese galleys and their commanders, Robert Guiscard and Giacomo Molini. The latter perished on the scaffold.[2] In the following year, the spirit of disaffection having manifested itself afresh among the Venetian Colonies in Dalmatia, a squadron of fifty galleys, of which the younger Morosini was allowed to hold the undivided command, was despatched with the object of curbing this reviving propensity to revolt; each of the fiefs was visited in succession, and from each an additional tribute and a renewal of its oath of fidelity were exacted.[3]

While the influence of the Hohenstaufen was being imperceptibly undermined by the slow decay of the Western Empire and by the diffusion of more liberal ideas, the Doges of Venice had never ceased to solicit,

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[1] P. Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, pp. 46–48 (King's MSS. 148); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 248); Dolfino, *Annali*, 17 (King's MSS. 149).

[2] *Cronica di Marco . . . . . Estr. II. Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.

[3] Paolo Morosini (lib. v. p. 112); Amiani (*Memorie di Fano*, p. 113). Rovigno was required to send, in addition, five *romanati* annually; Parenzo, fifteen pounds of oil and twenty rams; Omago, two *romanati*; Citta Nuova, forty pounds of oil. See Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 284).

and had seldom failed to obtain, the periodical recognition of the antient privileges of the Republic in the ports of the kingdom of Italy. These privileges had been approved in 1137 by Lothar III.; and they were similarly renewed in 1154, at the request of the Doge Morosini, by Frederic Barbarossa. In 1153 the Doge had also procured from the Prince of Antioch a trading charter, which accorded to Venetian merchants the same peculiar exemptions in that town and State which they already enjoyed in Ascalon and Tyre.

But by far the most important and remarkable incident in the reign of Morosini was the conclusion in 1154 of a treaty of commerce and peace with William I., the successor of Roger II. on the throne of Sicily. Scarcely more than five years had passed since the two Polani, armed with a terrible mission of vengeance, had landed on that coast, and had desolated the whole Island. It was to be imagined that their visit would not be promptly forgotten: yet both Powers now seemed alike content to merge the remembrance of passed injuries in a compact of mutual advantage. On the one hand, William, dreading the collateral hostility of Venice in the war which he was then waging with Emmanuel Comnenus, was anxious to secure, at least, her neutrality. On the other, the Republic had long desired the faculty of trading on less prohibitive terms in the ports of Sicily. So, if the constantly menacing attitude of Hungary, if the increasing uncertainty of their relations with the

Byzantine Court,[1] notwithstanding the circumstance that those relations had been recently placed on a footing apparently of the friendliest character, had not also argued the expediency of knitting more closely their connexion with the kingdom of Sicily, a regard to their interests as a mercantile community might alone have tempted the Venetians to contract such an alliance.

The ratification of the treaty with William was the last public act of Morosini: the death of that prince took place in February, 1156; and his remains were interred with the usual solemnities in the monastery of Santa Croce in Luprio, in the same vault in which, some years before, he had laid his consort Sophia.[2] His successor in the chief magistracy was Vitali Michieli, the second of that name, and the third of that family, who had been invested with the Ducal berretta.

It now becomes necessary to take a retrospective survey of the events which were passing elsewhere, and of which it seemed probable that the Republic would, at some future period, be more than the passive spectator.

In February, 1152, Frederic, Duke of Suabia, was elected King of Germany at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and afterward invested with the Silver Crown at

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[1] Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, dec. ii. lib. vi.)

[2] *Hic jacet Dominicus Maurocenus, Dux Venetiarum, cum Sophiâ suâ uxore Ducissâ, qui Dux fuit bonus et prudentissimus, plenus fide et veritate, et amator patriæ.*—Sansovino (lib. v. p. 200).

Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of the dignitaries of the realm, and of the delegates of the Free Towns. The announcement of the succession of Frederic was received with universal joy and satisfaction, and few princes ascended the throne of the Cæsars under more favourable auspices than the nephew and successor of Conrad III. He was still in the prime of manhood. His election had been unopposed. He was already the darling of the people, who fondly hailed in him the undoubted descendant of Charlemagne; and the fine qualities of his mind, and the manly graces of his person, endeared him to the brave German nation. But, unhappily for himself and mankind, Barbarossa had conceived an estimate of the kingly prerogative little consonant with popular freedom. It was his pride and his misfortune to think that the empire of the West was the allotted birthright of the House of Hohenstaufen; and, so far from admitting the Papacy as even a co-ordinate Power, he pointed to the Double Key as an exponent of the sovereign and equal authority of the Emperor over the Church and the State. That a prince who had imbibed such sentiments, should view with mingled scorn and astonishment the new and lofty claims of a majority of the Lombard towns to liberty and independence, was not to be accounted strange: he determined to embrace the opportunity which his proposed investiture with the Iron Crown by the Roman Pontiff afforded him, of crushing the insolent faction which had dared to

invade his prerogative, and to criticise the doctrine of Divine Right.

The Peninsula was already divided between the two hostile factions of the Ghibellines and the Guelphs. In the words of a poet of the thirteenth century, who wrote five-and-thirty years before the birth of Dante:—

> "——— De' Guelfi e degli Ghibellini,
> I qual per luminosa Italia sparti,
> Che fan di lor medessimi tagli e quarti." [1]

The former espoused the pretensions of the Emperor to absolutism; the latter challenged the nature and extent of his authority. The Guelphic cities, which included Crema, Cairo, Piacenza, Asti, Rosate, and Tortona, had concentrated their power and influence in Milan, reputed the strongest fortress in the kingdom; the Ghibelline, among which were Rome, Lucca, Cremona, Treviso, Verona, Padua, and Aquileia, had selected as their head quarters Pavia, the antient capital of the Lombard Kings. It could not be concealed that, even without any external support, the Imperialists were, at present, by far the more powerful and numerous of the two: the strength of the Popular Party lay in their compactness and unanimity. The Ghibellines professed themselves the zealous supporters of the royal prerogative; their rivals sought to set off the rights of the citizen against the obligations of the subject. It was natural under such circumstances, that the arrival of Frederic at Constance, in the

[1] *Rime di Guerzo di Montesanti*, 1230; *Poeti del primo secolo della lingua Italiana*, i. 123: 1816.

October of 1154, to take command of his troops, should be regarded alike by his enemies and his adherents in the Peninsula as an event of no ordinary importance. For it was generally felt that a struggle, in which a momentous question was involved, was at hand, and that great national interests were staked on the issue. The eyes of the Guelphic faction were therefore fixed wistfully and watchfully on the movements of the Army of Italy; and, when they paused to consider that, in a short time, the whole forces of Germany might be thrown into the scale against them, and might reduce them to a feeble minority, they might well contemplate with disquietude the gravity of their position. It was at this juncture that an incident occurred, which precipitated the impending crisis. During the stay of Barbarossa at Constance, an embassy arrived from Lodi, to beg his aid and protection against the Guelphs at Milan, who had burned the suburbs of the former town, and had grossly maltreated the inhabitants. The Emperor lent a favourable ear to the prayer of the deputies, and sternly commanded the Milanese to make reparation for the damage of which they were the authors. The latter spurned his order, and defied his authority; their consul trampled his letter under foot.[1] Such audacity was unexampled. The report of the deputies

[1] Otho Morena, a contemporary, and Bishop of Frisingen, has left a chronicle, called *Gesta Frederici*, which I have consulted. Morena's chronicle is in the valuable collection of Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

on their return struck Frederic with amazement. At first, he scarcely credited the news. But he was no sooner assured of its truth, than he decided on having recourse to vigorous measures; and, having quitted Constance abruptly at the head of his troops, the Emperor crossed the Alps, and planted the golden eagle at Ronceval, near Piacenza, where he awaited the presence of the Delegates of the cities, and of the vassals of the realm.[1] The Ghibellines promptly responded to the imperial summons; the Guelphs wholly disregarded it; and Milan, not satisfied with observing, like the rest, a cold and contemptuous silence, reiterated her challenge. This fresh indignity gave peculiar umbrage to the Emperor; it was exceedingly galling to his pride; it probed him to the heart's core; and he fully determined to bury the insult under the ruins of Milan. Still, the difficulties with which he had to grapple were on narrower scrutiny far more serious than he had anticipated, or indeed than he was willing to own. The conviction slowly forced itself upon him, that he had underrated the magnitude of the task in which he was engaged; and from the good understanding which appeared to exist among the Guelphs, he was fain to presage a long and obstinate resistance to his arms. During his stay in the Peninsula, disease had laid a heavy hand on his troops, and the levies, which he expected from the Rhenish Provinces and from Bohemia, were not yet forthcoming. Affairs of urgency,

[1] Sismondi (ii. p. 88).

moreover, recalled him to Germany, and, previous to his return, he was anxious to visit Pavia and Rome, in order that he might bind his brows with the Iron Crown and the golden diadem. Under these circumstances, the Emperor resolved to content himself, for the present, with segregating from the League those towns, which lay like a spiked belt around Milan, and served her as outposts and bastions; and, having with this design left Ronceval with the Army, he successively took and garrisoned Cairo, Asti, and Rosate. Tortona was levelled with the ground. Thence he proceeded to the Ghibelline capital, where, amid the popular manifestations of joy, he assumed the Iron Crown of Lombardy; and from Pavia he marched to Rome, where he intimated to the Pontiff Adrian his desire to receive at his hands the imperial rigol. His Holiness indeed had long expected the visit of Barbarossa; his Majesty met with a cordial and splendid reception; and after a short stay in the Capitol he took leave of the Pope, traversed the duchy of Spoleto, forced the passage of the Etsch, and ultimately reached Ratisbon in the course of 1156, leaving the fate of Italy suspended in the balance.

Two years afterward, and while the Emperor still remained in Germany, Adrian IV. was removed by death (1158); and the Electoral College, divided between the two factions, nominated two successors to Saint Peter's chair, the Ghibelline cardinals claiming the vacant tiara for Victor IV., their rivals

preferring the Chancellor Roland Ranuci, who assumed the designation of Alexander III. Frederic, on his part, espoused the pretensions of Victor, who shewed himself a better courtier than Ranuci; and, after a brief sojourn in the Campagna, the latter was obliged by the persecution of the Imperialists to embark at Genoa, and to seek an asylum at the Court of Louis VII. (March, 1161).

Barbarossa returned to Germany only with the wreck of the army, which he had raised at Constance two years before. But the loyal enthusiasm of the people, and their prompt reply to his call for new levies, speedily produced a fresh force, inferior to the former neither in numbers nor in discipline. With these troops he again crossed the Alps in July, 1159, and opened the campaign by laying siege to Crema, one of the principal constituents of the League. Crema yielded to the pressure of famine in the following January (1160). The remainder of this year was spent in negotiations with Alexander, who had already withdrawn from Rome, and in awaiting the reinforcements, which slowly arrived from Suabia, Hesse, the Rhenish Provinces, and Bohemia. The siege of Milan, which had now been deferred so long, was consequently not formed till August, 1161; and seven months elapsed before the besieged, reduced to the last stage of misery and distress, were forced to capitulate (March, 1162).[1] The conduct of the Emperor toward the vanquished was clement and forbearing: for it must be

[1] Verri (*St. di Milano*, i. 194; edit. Le Monnier).

admitted, that the Milanese had earned a full title to his enmity and vengeance. They had pillaged his treasury at Trezzo. They had beaten his troops at Cassano.[1] They had sacked and burned Lodi and Castiglione. They had expelled his Podesta, and had ignored his prerogative. Yet the treatment which they received at his hands served to humiliate their pride without disgracing his humanity. The walls and fortifications of the town were partly levelled. The *palladium*, a tree bearing a cross, was felled with a German axe. The nobles were condemned to march out of the place barefoot, their naked swords dangling from their necks. The lives of the inhabitants were spared. The fall of Milan was followed by the cession or conquest of a large portion of Lombardy: and having thus obtained an apparently firm footing in the Peninsula, Frederic appointed Reinold, Archbishop of Cologne, his lieutenant, and returned once more to Germany.

Excepting the marriage of his eldest son Leonardo, Count of Ossero, with the daughter of Dessa,[2] who had lately usurped the Crown of Hungary (1161–2), and that of his other son Nicolo, Count of Arbo, with the daughter of the Hungarian Prince Ladislaus, the early years of the reign of Michieli III. (1156–72) were uncharacterized by any feature of historical interest; and the Republic, mainly intent on promoting the national prosperity by the expansion of her commerce, continued, during that period, to preserve an

[1] Sismondi (ii. p. 127). [2] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 159).

attitude of strict neutrality. At the same time, the good wishes of the Venetians had been, from the very commencement of the war, with the Popular Party, whose policy appeared to be so eminently subservient to their views. The Islanders had long regarded with a wistful eye the contiguity of a powerful monarchy to their lagoons, and the union of the Iron Crown and the golden diadem on the brows of a single man: it was therefore with more than complacency, that they at present contemplated the prospect of the partition of Italy among a large number of petty States, which they considered it would be at all times easy to overawe, and which they might perhaps bring eventually within the range of the Ivory Sceptre. This natural bias of the Republic toward the Guelphs soon assumed a more distinct and practical form; and in the early spring of 1162, when the Milanese were reduced almost to the last extremity, a large consignment of supplies was sent to their relief. But the assistance thus rendered was both tardy and insufficient; Milan was shortly afterward (March 6) obliged to yield to the overwhelming force which Frederic had concentrated on the place; and the victor, having in this manner disposed of his most formidable enemy in the Peninsula, determined to afford the Republic palpable evidence of his resentment at her manifestation of sympathy with the insurgents.[1] Accordingly, antecedent to his departure for Germany in 1162, he

[1] Da Canale (*Cronaca Veneta*, ss. 27–8); Dandolo (lib. ix. pp. 287–96); P. Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 30, edit. 1576).

appealed to the loyalty and jealousy of Ulric, Patriarch of Aquileia, the old enemy of the metropolitanate, to the Bishop of Adria, and to the municipalities of Padua, Vicenza, Ferrara, and Treviso, which consented to organize among themselves a Coalition against the Venetians. Each of the members of this new confederacy bore such a part as was most in consonance with its policy and interest. The Adrians and Paduans seized on Cavarzero; the Aquileians made a descent on Grado; the Ferrarese and Vicentines advanced against Caorlo.[1] The movements of the League, however, were, fortunately for the Republic, slow and ill-concerted, and its triumph was of short duration. The Caorlese having hastened, on learning the danger of Grado, to the assistance of their neighbours, the Trevisans also advanced to attack Caorlo during their absence. But such was their ignorance of the channels of the lagoons, that they became entangled in the shallows, and the Caorlese women, witnessing their helplessness, launched boats and took many of the aggressors prisoners.[2] Intelligence had no sooner reached Venice of the hostile designs of the Imperialists, than the Doge adopted prompt measures of self-defence. A small fleet of galleys was equipped, and the sight of the Lion of Saint Mark alone deterred the assailants from their purpose. But the honour of the Venetian name was not to be tarnished

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 161).

[2] *Cronaca di Marco . . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. 263; Da Canale (sect. 30).

with impunity. The vengeance of the Republic was wreaked on the two principal offenders, the Bishop of Adria and the Patriarch Ulric. The territories of the former[1] were swept by her troops. Ulric, on his way back to Aquileia in fancied security with the spoils of the metropolitanate, was surprised near Castello by Michieli and his squadron, and conducted a prisoner to Venice, where a promise was wrung from him, that the Patriarchs of Aquileia, in celebration of the circumstance, should send to Rialto in perpetuity an annual present of twelve large loaves, together with an ox and twelve boar-pigs,[2] whose pompous and solemn immolation might indicate to the Tributaries the fate which Ulric and the twelve Canons, his companions on the occasion, had so well deserved.[3]

In the interval which elapsed between the departure of the Pontiff Alexander from the Gulf of Genoa in March, 1161, to the banks of the Loire, and his return from Paris four years later to the Castle of Saint Angelo, the imperial power had been gradually on the decline; and the Guelphs, who now openly acknowledged Alexander as their leader, had gradually acquired power and importance. Both factions continued to regard each other with unmitigated animosity.

[1] *Cronaca Altinate, ubi suprâ.*

[2] *Cronaca di Marco . . . . . loco citato.*

[3] The living representatives of Ulric and his canons were conducted round the city in procession, and afterward sacrificed in the presence of the Doge, who caused the quarters to be distributed among the people. Giustina Renier Michieli (*Feste Veneziane*, ii. p. 36, edit. 1832); and *Cronaca di Marco . . . . . ubi suprâ.*

Frederic declared Ranuci out of the ban of the empire: Ranuci pronounced Frederic out of the pale of the Church. Milan and Pavia were at open war. Padua and Seprio revolted against their governors. The Ghibellines counted on the support of Germany: their rivals engaged the sympathy of Greece, Sicily, France, and England. Mantua, Vicenza, Ferrara, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Treviso, and Verona, though from motives of prudence they had not yet espoused the popular side, were known to be already less than lukewarm in their attachment to the Emperor; and many other towns, such as Rimini, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, and Forli, exasperated at the cruelties and exactions of the Imperial government, merely awaited a suitable opportunity of declaring themselves for Alexander and the League. Such was the posture of affairs, when Victor IV. breathed his last on the 28th of April, 1164. The Ghibellines conferred the *vacant* tiara on Paschal III. But the new pontiff was soon obliged by the predominance of the opposite faction to join the Emperor at Wurtzburg; and Alexander entered Rome in triumph in November, 1165. A year and a half later, after several months of negotiation and delay, a treaty, binding the contracting parties to afford each other mutual support, and to make no peace with his Majesty till they had placed their municipal rights and privileges on a firm and secure footing, was signed at Pontita (May 29, 1167) by the delegates of Padua, Treviso,[1] Vicenza,

[1] Bonifacio (*Istoria di Trevigi*, lib. iv. p. 128).

Verona,[1] Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, and Piacenza; and prior to the close of the campaign, the oath was accepted, and the act was subscribed, by Parma, Lucca, Modena, Bologna, Reggio, Vercelli, Lodi, Como, Novaro, and *Alexandria*.[2] The Republic of Venice, continuing to watch the course of events, still adhered to her neutrality, contenting herself with subsidizing the Guelphs[3] to the extent of 12,000 marks of silver; and her example was followed by the small, though by no means inconsiderable, borough of Ancona, which occupied at present a somewhat anomalous position, as being the only place in the Peninsula, which remained true to the Court of Constantinople. The *Lombard League* was a Barrier of Steel interposed between the people and their oppressors; and from the moment of its formation may be dated a new era in the history of Italy. It is instructive to observe how, in the course of twelve years, the selfish and unwise policy of Frederic Barbarossa had gradually alienated from him and from the House of Hohenstaufen a loyal and devoted people, and how, in that comparatively short period, his overbearing tyranny constrained those towns and municipalities, which had once been his staunchest adherents, to range themselves on the side of the Revolutionary party.

[1] Dalla Corte (*Storia di Verona*, lib. v.)

[2] Alexandria was built in 1168 in honour and memory of Ranuci, at a distance of 40 miles from Milan and 25 miles from Pavia. Sismondi tells us (ii. pp. 131–2) that a year after its foundation, this town was able to furnish a contingent of 15,000 men to the League. Fleury also (*Hist. Eccles.* xv. p. 243).

[3] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 161). The mark was = 2*l.*

The attention of the Republic was soon drawn to the state of her relations with the Lower Empire. The Venetians still enjoyed the ample privileges which they had acquired from time to time at Constantinople and the other Greek ports; and the reconciliation effected in 1147 between the two Powers had happily not been disturbed by any ulterior event. But the Islanders, inspired by the spirit of enterprise, and actuated by the growing preponderance of Pisa and Genoa[1] in a capital where Venice was once paramount, had not failed to establish themselves concurrently in the countries which bordered on the Greek monarchy: they had formed settlements on the Black Sea, as well as at Cairo, Tunis, and Medina; they traded on easy and advantageous terms with Sicily; and in 1168 Comnenus learned with extreme dissatisfaction that the Doge Michieli had renewed with William II. the treaty of commerce and peace, into which Morosini entered in 1154 with his predecessor, William I. The Emperor had vainly striven to preclude that dangerous alliance: he was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to dissolve it. William declined to accept the hand

[1] These two Republics also formed advantageous alliances with the Western Empire; the treaty accorded by Frederic to Genoa, granted Syracuse in fief to that commune, as well as 250 baronies in the valley of Noto; it gave her the right of electing her own consuls, dispensed with her service in the field except in Provence, conferred on her the privilege of trading in all the Italian ports, *and in those of the Republic of Venice;* and, lastly, precluded his Majesty from ratifying a peace with the King of Sicily without the free consent of the Consuls of Genoa. See Sismondi (ii. p. 142). The Byzantine Court likewise extended to Pisa and Genoa privileges of an equally valuable and honourable character (ii. p. 191).

of Maria Comnena, which was offered as a bait to induce him to join his Majesty in a war with the Republic: the Republic, although, indeed, the advances of Emmanuel to the Doge were of a similarly flattering nature, similarly refused to entertain any proposition, which would lead to an embroilment with the King. The unfavourable result of this twofold negotiation was vexing in the last degree; it plainly denoted that the connexion between Venice and her new ally was too strongly cemented by a sense of mutual interest to be broken, or even to be weakened, by intrigue; and the rejection of his overtures by a Power, which was ordinarily so obsequious, was infinitely more galling to the pride of Comnenus than the cold reception which his Ambassador met at the Court of Sicily. When his Envoys reported to their master the ill success of their respective missions, the scene in the state-cabin recurred to the mind of Emmanuel; every indignity, which the Greeks had endured in his own time, and during the reign of his father Johannes, at the hands of the Republic, flashed at once upon his recollection; and he determined to wreak his vengeance on those proud Islanders by attacking them in that part where he knew them to be most vulnerable. The Emperor was sufficiently collected to conceal his intentions; no word or expression, tending to excite distrust, was allowed to transpire; and the Venetian traders, resident at Constantinople and throughout the empire, were still unsuspicious of danger when, on the 3rd of May,

1170, their vessels were suddenly seized, their property was confiscated, and the merchants themselves were committed to close custody. Some idea may be formed of the number of persons who were sufferers by this measure, as well as of the extent of the commerce at this period between Venice and Constantinople from the fact, that when all the dungeons had been filled to crowding with Venetian prisoners, some still remained, for whom the monasteries were required to provide accommodation.[1]

The union of Leonardo and Nicolo Michieli with two scions of the Royal House of Hungary had encouraged a hope that King Stephen II. might become a useful and constant ally. Indeed, the amicable relations which the Republic had maintained with that prince since the Dalmatian Rebellion of 1151, suffered no interruption till the early part of 1170, when an announcement was unexpectedly received that a fresh revolt had taken place in favour of the King of Hungary, and that the Podesta Domenigo Morosini, the late Doge's son, had been obliged to seek safety in flight. At the news of this defection which created considerable surprise, immediate measures were concerted for the recovery of the lost fief, and for the intimidation of those which might be tempted to imitate its example. A fleet was accordingly gotten in readiness without delay to put to sea; and the Doge having undertaken the command,[2] was soon on his way to Zara. He was accompanied by

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, p. 206). [2] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 159).

Count Morosini. On the arrival of the squadron at its destination, Michieli demanded an instant and unconditional surrender; the Hungarian garrison, from a mixed motive of pride and fear, were deaf to the summons; and the Venetians having succeeded in taking the place by storm, rased a portion of the fortifications, and exacted 200 hostages. The judicious severity of Michieli prevented the disaffection from becoming general. Trau, Spalatro, and other towns belonging in fief to the Republic, alarmed by the foretaste of a similar fate, expelled their Hungarian garrisons and governors, and returned to their allegiance. It was shortly after the return of the Doge from this expedition, that the earliest intelligence was received of the misfortunes which had befallen the Commonwealth in the East; and the coincidence was one which was apt to excite a suspicion that a secret understanding, inimical to Venetian interests, existed between the Courts of Hungary and Constantinople.[1]

The resentment of the Republic at the embargo, which was undoubtedly a gross contravention of the law of nations, was violent beyond measure; and a general tendency, which the Doge did not discountenance, manifested itself in favour of an instant declaration of war against the Emperor. But more moderate counsels ultimately prevailed; the mercantile community, who were naturally of a cooler and more

[1] Bonfinius (*Res Ungar.* decad. ii. lib. vi. p. 274); Lucius (*De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. iii. p. 124).

calculating temper than the multitude, and who usually came forward on the political stage as the advocates of peace, were still inclined to negotiate; and that large and powerful class succeeded in demonstrating that it was far more expedient to seek an explanation of the recent affair, than to plunge rashly into hostilities.

On his part, however, Comnenus was still barely satisfied with the success of his stratagem; the seizure of the property and persons of the Venetian traders was not so comprehensive as he had wished and expected; he was anxious to ensnare the objects of his vengeance still more thoroughly; and he determined to avail himself of the willingness which, as he was assured by his agents at Venice, had been exhibited in many influential quarters to effect an honourable reconciliation with the Byzantine Court. In the autumn of the same year (1170) an envoy was accordingly despatched to express to Michieli, on behalf of his master, the sorrow of the latter at the passed occurrence, to offer an ample equivalent for the losses which the sequestration of their property had entailed on his Commune,—the natural ally of the Empire,—and to invite the Venetians to resume the position which they had heretofore enjoyed in Constantinople and elsewhere.[1] The Republic, especially the trading class, was effectually duped by this enticing message. The orders of non-intercourse were cancelled. The captives were liberated from the dungeons. The vessels

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 163).

were released from the embargo. The confiscated property was restored to its owners. In short, the relations between the two Powers were considered in all respects as re-established on their former footing; and a convoy of merchantmen, carrying on the whole 20,000 persons,[1] accompanied by two plenipotentiaries, Sebastiano Ziani of Santa Giustina, and Orio Malipiero, at once set out for the East. The Venetian deputies, who had embarked in one of those vessels which were bound for the Greek capital itself, arrived at the Golden Horn in the very early part of 1171; they were treated by Comnenus in such a manner as might serve to gratify their pride and to disarm their suspicions; and his Majesty already began to smile at the success of the stratagem by which he had entrapped his enemies so completely. On the very eve of its execution his design was frustrated.

There was at Constantinople an eminent shipwright, a Venetian by birth, whose skill in his craft had recommended him to the favour of the Emperor. The latter loaded him with honours, admitted him into his confidence, intrusted him with the command of a large three-masted man-of-war which he had built for the Emperor at Venice, or which at least he had sold to Comnenus after its completion, and as a special mark of his esteem allowed him, during the recent proscription, to retain his property and his freedom. This man, whose patriotism was stronger than his gratitude, received early notice of

[1] *Cronaca Altinate, ubi suprâ.*

the danger which threatened his unsuspecting countrymen; and, having waited on Ziani and Malipiero, he disclosed to them the existence and nature of the plot, as well as the date which had been fixed for its execution. The Deputies were assured that Emmanuel had merely varnished his treacherous project with deceitful professions, in order that he might allure them to his harbours and his dungeons, and he stated that a plan was on foot for seizing their persons and for laying a general embargo on their vessels and merchandise on the 12th of March[1] ensuing. The shipbuilder then proceeded to suggest an ingenious method which he had conceived of extricating them from the difficulty. The vessel of which he was the commander was the swiftest in the Greek navy;[2] he was willing to place it at their disposal, as well as his own services; and if they approved the scheme, they and all the Venetians residing in the Greek capital[3] might anticipate detention by a timely flight. Ziani and his companions were thunderstruck at the intelligence. They naturally hesitated at first to attach credit to the statement of their informant; but, after a pause, they entered into the proposal. The ship was manned and equipped; the sides were covered with felt steeped in vinegar, as a precaution against the Greek fire; and,

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 164); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 293).

[2] Nicetas (*De Manuele Comneno*, lib. v. p. 223); Filiasi (*Ricerche Storiche*, p. 232).

[3] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 164). "Multum timebat imperator de Venetis, ne se defenderent; et idcirco multas in Constantinopoli congregaverat gentes."

the fugitives having quitted the Chrysoceras[1] at nightfal, reached the Propontis before their absence was detected. The breeze was propitious; the velocity with which the vessel skimmed the waves soon rendered the pursuit of the Greeks perfectly futile; the fire, which was occasionally launched at her stern and sides, dropped harmlessly into the sea; and after a rapid voyage of twenty or five-and-twenty days, the Deputies and the companions of their flight reached the Lagoon (April, 1171). Previously to their arrival, however, several merchants having been forewarned of the plot, and having eluded in like manner the sequestration, had conveyed the intelligence to Venice; and the abominable double-dealing of the Emperor already formed the leading topic of debate in the City. There was a general outcry of vengeance; every hand offered to bear a part in a war against Emmanuel; and such was the unmeasured vehemence of their wrath, that the Venetians cropped their hair, and shaved their beards close, in order not to present in their personal appearance any similarity to an odious race.[2]

Michieli, who was entering on the sixteenth year of a comparatively uneventful administration, was not on his part otherwise than glad to embrace such an unexpected opening to popularity and distinction; the thrilling narrative of the events of 1123, which had been familiar to Vitali from his boyhood, long before he dreamed of ascending the steps of the throne,

[1] *Cronaca di Marco . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* (viii. 260).

[2] Mutinelli (*Annali*, p. 42); ibid. (*Del Costuma Veneziano*, p. 49).

naturally awakened in his mind a strong spirit of emulation; and his aspiration was that Constantinople and the Archipelago might witness exploits which should transmit his name to posterity with that of the hero of Jaffa and Tyre. The Doge therefore exhibited an entire sympathy with the public emotion; war was at once resolved on; measures were taken to organize a powerful fleet;[1] and all vessels, which might be trading or waiting for cargoes in the ports of Syria and Egypt, were ordered to report themselves at Venice before the 1st September (1171), the day fixed by the Doge for the departure. The whole City contributed to the formation and cost of the naval armament. One hundred galleys were built in as many days.[2] Twenty transports were set apart for munitions and supplies. Ten long vessels were contributed[3] by Zara alone. The joy of the people was boisterously exuberant. The nobility vied with each other in munificence and enthusiasm; and the Giustiniani, emulating the noble zeal of the Fabii, offered their services and their lives to the Republic. This generous fervour was diffused among all classes of the community. During the whole summer of 1171,[4] the Arsenal and Dockyard presented a busy scene of preparation. Every morning at daybreak, the great bell of the Campanile summoned the carpenters

[1] *Cronaca di Marco . . . . Archivio Storico Italiano* (viii. 260); Martino da Canale (sect. 27).

[2] Da Canale (sect. 27); *Cronaca Altinate*, 165.

[3] *Cronaca Altinate*, 165.

[4] Ibid. (v. 164).

and other operatives to their labour, to which they applied themselves strenuously and incessantly: they felt that the eye of their country was upon them; and on the appointed day the fleet was announced to be ready to sail. Michieli himself assumed the command; and, since the term of his absence was necessarily uncertain, and a rupture with Stephen or with Barbarossa might render the absence of the Crown inexpedient, his eldest son Leonardo, Count of Ossero, was declared, in the interval, Vice-Doge of the Republic.

On the 1st September, the usual signals were given for departure; the anchors were weighed; the sails were spread; and the great standard of Saint Mark was hoisted on the flag-ship of his Serenity. According to a previous arrangement, a detachment of thirty galleys was sent to recover Trau, which had again gone over to the King of Hungary; the rest proceeded to Ragusa for a similar purpose;[1] and, those two places having been reduced to submission and partly dismantled, a fresh junction was effected, and the whole fleet stood for Negropont. The Greek governor of that island, measuring the strength of the enemy by his vanity or ignorance, had undertaken to oppose the Venetians, and to protect the empire. But, on hearing their force and proximity, he was induced to abandon this chivalrous resolution, at the same time that he hastened to embrace the ready alternative. Embarking on his state-galley, the governor advanced to meet the approaching squadron, and begged an in-

[1] *Cronaca Altinate, ubi suprâ.*

terview with the Venetian commander. He expressed his unfeigned surprise at the hostile attitude which the Republic had assumed; he confidently traced to some misrepresentation of facts so strange an interruption of the friendly relations which had almost invariably subsisted between the Byzantine Court and the Government of his Serenity; and he assured Michieli, that Emmanuel would gladly repair any losses which might have accrued through his instrumentality to Venetian commerce. He stated that while his Imperial Master lamented the prospect of a war, so diametrically opposed to the true interests of both the belligerents, he had not ceased to cherish the hope of a peaceful and bloodless reconciliation with the Republic; and, as an important step toward that object, the Governor of Negropont suggested that, before such a course became impracticable, it should be ascertained, whether the existing breach between the two Powers could not be closed without an appeal to arms. The words of the speaker produced on the mind of the Doge a dubious impression; he justly accepted with reserve any statement or proposal emanating from a perjured Court; and he could hardly suppress a smile at the new light and aspect in which the Governor set the point under discussion. It was not difficult, indeed, to believe that the views and policy of Emmanuel were pacific in their tendency, and that he was really reluctant to engage in hostilities, until hostilities were forced upon him. For it was notorious that the Navy of Constantinople was disorganized,

that the finances of the State were at a low ebb, that the national temper was indolent and unwarlike, and that the Emperor himself, now advanced in years, was no longer capable of taking the field. At the same time, although a war with Greece was at variance with the commercial interests of the Republic, it was not to be overlooked that the honour of an independent nation was at stake; and Michieli was perfectly aware that the extension of Venetian trade had rendered the more sordid consideration of secondary importance. On the other hand, it was already October; the campaign of 1171 could hardly fail to be very brief in its duration, and very indecisive in its results; the arrival of the winter season would suspend operations before they had thoroughly commenced; and by negotiation, though nothing might be won, nothing was to be lost. The Doge, therefore, without formally consenting to an armistice, expressed himself not indisposed, on the whole, to listen to terms; and Manasses Badoer and Pasquale, Bishop of Equilo, the latter of whom was recommended by his conversance with the Greek idiom,[1] were instructed to proceed to Constantinople for the purpose of opening a conference with his Majesty; while Michieli, on his part, removed from Negropont to Scio,[2] where it was his intention to await the return of the deputies.[3]

Badoer and his companion were not admitted to an

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 166). [2] *Cronaca Altinate, ubi suprâ.*

[3] *Cronaca di Marco . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* (viii. 261). This work is supposed to have been written about 1292. The author was a contemporary of Da Canale.

audience of Comnenus. They were told that the Emperor would see them very shortly, and with that answer they were repeatedly met. At last, their suspicions were strongly awakened: nor was it long before their eyes were opened to the truth. A Jew, named Aaron, who served the Byzantine Court in a confidential capacity, had in consequence of some slight or injury conceived of late a violent pique against Emmanuel: and the present conjuncture seemed to afford him an excellent opportunity of gratifying his resentment. Not very long subsequently to their arrival, Aaron sought a private interview with Badoer and his colleague, to whom he unfolded the object of his visit. He intimated to the Embassy, that it formed no part of the Emperor's design to come to a settlement with them. He assured them that, in his pacific advances to the Republic, his Majesty was wholly insincere. In fact, his sole motive was to gain time. In corroboration of his assertions, their informant pointed to the busy preparations for the ensuing campaign, and more especially to a powerful fleet which was in course of construction, and which would be shortly placed under the orders of the Admiral, Andronicus Contostephanos.[1] This forewarning was not lost on the deputies, who took their departure without further ceremony; and the Jew perceived with considerable glee, that the diplomatic farce had been broken off by his immediate agency.

[1] Lebeau (xvi. p. 262).

But on the return of the two Envoys to Scio, they were shocked to find, that a great calamity had befallen Michieli and the Republic. During their absence, and while they were frittering away precious time at Constantinople, the plague had made its appearance in the Ionian Isles.[1] The Venetian troops fell easy victims to the epidemic; the mortality increased from day to day; it had soon baffled calculation; and as the vessels of the fleet were gradually rendered inefficient by the loss of their complements, and in many cases of the whole crew, the painful necessity arose of committing them to the flames, in order that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. In this manner, the superb armament of a hundred and thirty sail, which had left Venice in the preceding autumn in the full confidence of victory, was reduced to the moiety of its original strength. Still, the virulence of the fever abated not. So soon, however, as he had learned from the deputies the result of their late mission, Michieli, partly actuated by an idea that he might escape beyond the range of its fatal influence, and, in part, by his anxiety to avoid a collision with the Greek commander, who was said to be approaching the Ionian Isles with a fleet of 150 sail, shifted his moorings in succession from Scio to Lesbos, from

[1] In the *Chronicle of San Salvador*, quoted by Sanudo, folio 496, it is said that the Emperor caused the water to be poisoned, *fecit toxicare quamdam aquam:* and the same statement occurs in the *Chronicle of Bartolomæus Veronensis*, Abbot of San Nicolo del Lido, 1197, quoted by the same, folio 504.

Lesbos to Lemnos, and from Lemnos to Scyros, where a perceptible decrease of mortality encouraged him to celebrate the feast of the Passover (April 14–18, 1172). In the course of the few days, during which he remained at Scyros, his Serenity, yielding to the force of existing circumstances, wholly relinquished the design of carrying on the war by recommencing hostilities in the spring. But at the same time, the Doge had resolved, if it was possible, to maintain his present ground, until the fear of contagion, as well as the symptoms of disease, were altogether removed. The peevish and refractory spirit, however, which was manifesting itself among the troops, naturally querulous and homesick, the undoubted proximity of Contostephanos, and the crippled condition of his own forces, militated against this precaution, and compelled him to assent, against his better judgment, to an immediate return. The necessary instructions for the departure of the fleet accordingly issued; the dead were interred; the dying were carried to the place of embarkation; several ships, which had been disabled since the late melancholy sacrifice, were consumed; and the residue, consisting of seventeen galleys and five transports, shaped their course for the Adriatic. That course gradually assumed the character of a retreat; the retreat became a flight. For the Greek admiral, who had narrowly watched the movements of the Islanders, followed closely in their wake: nor did he desist from the pursuit, until the fugitives had doubled the Cape

of Saint Angelo.[1] Contostephanos then leisurely retraced his steps, while the Venetians, having in the first instance touched at Ragusa and Sebenigo, which had again seceded from their allegiance, made sail for the Lagoon. The Republic was already aware of the calamitous issue of the expedition, which she had sent to the Levant in the preceding year. But she was hardly prepared for a worse disaster than she had yet suffered; and a worse disaster was in store for her. The mariners, who communicated to their countrymen at home the dismal tidings, communicated also the fatal infection. The people wrung their hands in an ecstasy of terror and despair; the rapidity with which the epidemic extended its ravages in a place, where no sanitary laws of a fixed or systematic nature were yet established, and where a fetid atmosphere greatly increased its virulence, was truly appalling. It had soon penetrated into every quarter, and had found a victim under every roof. The entire community seemed to be smitten by a mortal sickness. Every sphere and class of society were affected by it in a greater or less degree; every family bewailed the loss of some of its ornaments and pillars; and among those whom the fever had laid low, were counted no fewer than a hundred members of the House of Giustiniani.[2]

With three exceptions, indeed, that antient and illustrious race was at present extinct. The sur-

[1] Nicetas (*De Manuele Comneno*, lib. v. p. 225).

[2] *Chronicon Fratrum Sancti Salvatoris*, quoted by Sanudo, folio 496.

vivors were Pietro, Marco, and Nicolo, the last of whom, a youth in his seventeenth year, was now cloistered in a monastery of Benedictines. His Serenity was deeply moved by the noble and enormous sacrifice which their fallen kinsmen had spontaneously made in the service of their country; such generous and unselfish patriotism was unmatched; and he resolved, as a mark of his own sympathy, as well as a high tribute of public gratitude, to offer his only daughter Anna in marriage to Nicolo Giustiniani.[1] The young Benedictine embraced with alacrity the flattering proposal; a papal indulgence absolved him from his oath of celibacy; and his union with the Doge's child was blessed by an issue of nine sons and three daughters. Of the latter, one died a virgin and an abbess. Bartolotta espoused the Lord of Este. Marta became the wife of the Lord De la Scala. Both the two remaining Giustiniani obtained subsequent eminence. Pietro, it is said, afterward accepted the office of Procurator of Saint Mark, which in point of rank and importance was accounted second only to the Crown itself. In 1174, we find Marco in command of Venetian forces at the siege of Ancona.

The Doge was far from being a callous spectator of the harrowing scene which passed around him. On the contrary, while he deeply deplored the actual occurrence of an evil, which he had probably dreaded as a contingency, Michieli spared no exertion, which

[1] Mutinelli (*Annali*, p. 47).

might help to alleviate the public misery; and when they took into consideration the difficult position in which he had been placed by the unexpected course of events, discerning men, although they might hesitate to pronounce him wholly free from blame, generally agreed in exonerating their chief magistrate from the grave imputation of carelessness and indifference. There was, however, a large section of the community, probably comprising a considerable number of bereaved and disconsolate families, which openly and loudly accused him of being the author of their misfortunes. They deduced them with clearness and confidence from two causes, his want of foresight and his excessive credulity. The diatribes and animadversions of this Party were bold, violent, and bitter. They soon wore a really formidable aspect. Their clamours and maledictions gradually arrested the public attention. The subject, which formed their ground of complaint, became the leading theme of conversation. It was canvassed on the Rialto. It was agitated in the Senate, where it gave rise to frequent and angry controversies, in which the speakers freely vituperated each other. The sitting of the 27th May was stormy and tumultuous beyond precedent. The debate turned on the affairs of the Republic, and on the causes and consequences of the recent catastrophe; all sides spoke with great warmth and emotion, and high words were exchanged. The Doge was present at the discussion, in which he took the part of vindicating his own conduct, and of refuting the charges

preferred against him. One by one the friends of order, foreseeing the storm that was gathering, escaped from the Hall, and the Doge, finding himself confronted with a furious throng, brandishing knives and uttering terrible threats, also retired from the Palace in the direction of the nearest canal, crossed the bridge, and proceeded toward San Zaccaria, where he purposed to attend vespers. It was already dusk. He was followed at a short distance by a few of the malcontents; Michieli, according to his custom on all ordinary occasions, was unguarded and alone; and he had not gone very far, when one of the party behind him, stepping suddenly in advance of his companions, plunged a dagger by a rapid movement into the bosom of the Prince. The stab was not instantaneously fatal; but the assassin contrived at the moment to effect his escape; and his unfortunate victim, summoning by one desperate effort his remaining strength, staggered toward the Convent, where he hastily received the viaticum, and expired almost immediately afterward in the arms of the priest, who had been standing at the gate to receive him.[1]

The news of this atrocity was circulated with extraordinary rapidity through the various quarters of Venice; the whole city thrilled with horror; and the melancholy end of Michieli, producing a reaction not uncommon in such cases and at such junctures,

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 167); Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 296); *Sicardi Episc. Chronicon*, fol. 600.

reconciled to his memory even the most violent and implacable of that party which his alleged mismanagement of the war had, at the close of his career, arrayed against him. The murderer was easily traced and secured. His name was ascertained to be Marco Casiolo.[1] His identity and the proof of his guilt were established without much difficulty; he was sentenced by the Ducal Court to be beheaded; and, as a mark of peculiar infamy, the scaffold on which he was executed was erected in front of his own dwelling in the *Calle delle Rasse*, between the Riva degli Schiavoni and the street of San Filippo e Giacomo. The house itself—a stone structure—was afterward demolished; and it is believed that the demolition was accompanied by an order that it might never be rebuilt in the same material.

During his government of seventeen years and a quarter, Michieli III. had shown himself possessed of great parts, of a superior capacity. That his administration breathed a spirit of ultra-commercialism, and was distinguished by that proneness to negotiation, when negotiation was not dishonourable only but unavailing, ought not to create surprise; the vice was one by no means singular in him; it was a vice inherent in the community of which he was a member. It was a national peculiarity, a constitutional taint. The important fact should not be overlooked that, at the time when he ascended the throne, a dark and heavy cloud hung over Italy and the Republic.

[1] *Cronaca Altinate juxta Codicem Dresdensem*, p. 61.

The ambitious projects of Frederic Barbarossa were just then beginning to excite suspicion in the Peninsula. Those who already meditated opposition were in an anxious and unsettled mood. The Guelphs had reason to feel that their position was one of grave uncertainty. On the one hand, it was difficult to judge how far the Emperor was prepared to respect their municipal privileges; on the other, they were very doubtful how far it would be in their power, in the event of such a course becoming necessary, to offer an efficient and prolonged resistance to so mighty an antagonist. For that voice, which awoke, some years later, in tones of thunder, was still feeble and timid. The Popular Party, though inspired by a resolute spirit, was still insignificant both in number and strength. No one yet dreamed of the formation of the Lombard League. The Ghibellines, on the contrary, composed a powerful and numerous faction. A large majority of the Italian cities were in the service of the Emperor. The Holy See was loyal and servile in the extreme. The Republics of Genoa and Pisa shewed every disposition to afford Frederic their support. The Iron Crown awaited his Majesty at Pavia. The golden diadem awaited him at Rome. Such was the lowering aspect of the political horizon when the late Doge was called, in the month of February, 1156, to replace Domenigo Morosini. The Venetians fully comprehended the difficulties with which they might be forced to grapple. They foresaw that, to reconcile the conflicting interests of their

country as an independent Power and a community of traders, it would be necessary to proceed with wary steps. But Venetian sympathies and predilections were invariably on the side of the League; and it was the most ardent and sincere wish of the Islanders, that the exertions of the Guelphs in the cause of liberty might be rewarded with speedy and complete success.

Michieli lived to see this wish in a large measure realised. He lived to be a witness of the formation of the Lombard League, and of the defeat of the tyrannical projects of Frederic. He was among those who beheld with heartfelt satisfaction a whole nation rising in revolt against its oppressor. But that great and glorious resurrection of Italian freedom was the slow and accumulative work of many years; and the intermediate space was long remembered by the Venetians as a season of painful suspense and solicitude. During the greater portion of that period, the Ghibelline Cities, opposed to the political creed of the Republic, more, envious of her commercial prosperity, maintained toward her an attitude hostile and minatory. She counted among her secret or avowed enemies Padua, Adria, Aquileia, Ferrara, Ravenna, Ancona, Vicenza, Verona, and Treviso. The Bishop of Adria, a bellicose and powerful prelate, who was thought to have more relish for freebooting than for masses or genuflexions, had long been desirous of annexing the Venetian town of Cavarzero to his see. It was well

known that the Patriarch Ulric of Aquileia, not less warlike and unscrupulous, and who nourished toward the metropolitan an inveterate and hereditary animosity, was ready to seize the first opportunity of making a descent on Grado, and of despoiling of her vast treasures the antient and venerable church of Santa Eufemia. It was equally notorious, that the Emperor himself regarded the Republic with no friendly eye. A prince, less thirsty for power and dominion, might indeed not unreasonably view with dissatisfaction the finest, most capacious, and most convenient harbour on the coast of Italy in the hands of a trading community, which owned no allegiance to his crown. Venice was the key of the Adriatic. To be the sovereign of the Adriatic, which might well be a point of ambition with him, it was necessary that Frederic should become the sovereign of Venice. If Venice continued to be a distinct Commonwealth, it would not only be difficult, but it would be impossible, to command that sea. That the Emperor was a stranger to such and similar speculations, was hardly to be believed; and there was strong reason to apprehend that, so soon as the Guelphic faction had been reduced to submission, an ulterior project would develop itself for embodying the Republic with the kingdom of Lombardy. Then the Venetians might once more have found it incumbent on them to unsheathe the sword in defence of their hearths and homesteads, of their national rights and free institutions; and men shuddered at the thought that Albiola might, in the

twelfth century, witness the same spectacle as that which it had beheld in the days of Angelo Badoer and Pietro Tribuno. Apart from such considerations, there were others similar in their tendency. It can be scarcely necessary to recur to the rupture, which took place in 1170, between the Republic and the Byzantine Court, to the calamitous campaign of 1171, to the outlays and sacrifices incidental to a two years' war after a seven years' peace, to the decimation of the troops by the plague, and to the loss of the greater part of a fleet of 130 sail. These circumstances rendered the period during which Michieli III. was at the head of affairs, a season of unusual difficulty and peril; and, in forming an estimate of his character and times, they should be kept in view and taken into account.

The death of Michieli may be considered as bringing to a termination the First Epoch of the History of Venice. This shocking catastrophe, and the circumstances by which it was attended, introduced an order of things which marks a new era in the Annals of the Republic.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1173-1201.

Considerations on the Government of Venice—The Acts of the Commission of Reform—The Great Council—The Privy Council—The Senate—Election of Sebastiano Ziani (1173)—Forced Loan—The Camera Degl' Imprestidi—Negotiations with the Byzantine Court—Siege of Ancona (1174)—Reconciliation with Comnenus—Alexander III. at Venice (1176-7)—Battle of Salboro—Congress of Venice—Ziani is Succeeded by Orio Malipiero (1178)—Defection of Zara—Third Crusade—Malipiero is Succeeded by Arrigo Dandolo of San Luca (1192)—Difference between Venice and Verona (1191)—Defeat of the Pisans (1192-3)—The Fifth Crusade—Treaty between the Republic and the Barons (1201).

THE Revolution of 1033, which had owed its results to the popular alarm at the overgrown influence of the House of Orseolo, had the effect of weakening the Ducal authority in two essential respects. The conductors of this remarkable movement contrived, not without much intrigue and chicanery, to procure in one sitting of the Legislature the abrogation of the two engrafted systems of association and hereditary succession; and, although the government of Venice still remained, by a prescriptive right, in the hands of a limited number of families, the law of Flabenigo had never been transgressed: nor could any instance be adduced in which, from that time forward, a son had been called to assist the counsels of his father, or to replace him. So far, then, the Revolution had

established two great and salutary maxims of civil polity: and it was to those maxims that Venice was largely indebted for her subsequent immunity from domestic troubles. But nearly a century and a half had now elapsed since the days of the First Venetian Reformer; two generations of men had passed away; and in the meantime the social and political state of the Republic had undergone an important and perceptible change. That change, though affecting to some extent the whole community, was relative, rather than positive, in its character and operation. There were certainly many circumstances, which clearly denoted the general progress of Venetian civilization. The Venetians toward the close of the twelfth century were a more experienced and enlightened, perhaps a wiser, people than the contemporaries of Flabenigo; and the expansion of its commerce, the development of its naval resources, the conspicuous part which it had borne in the Crusades, the alliances which it had formed, the treaties which it had concluded, had, in a comparatively brief period, raised their Commune to a far higher place in the scale of nations than the men of 1033, in any attempt to forecast the future, could have at all anticipated. But, as in 1033, there was one class only, which could be said to have derived any considerable advantage from the progress; and that class was the aristocracy.

The foundation of the aristocracy, considered as a distinct section of the community, dates no farther back than the middle of the eleventh century. The

small, yet influential Cabal of turbulent and dissatisfied members of the upper class, which owed its parentage to a private quarrel in 1026 between the Gradenigi and Orseoli, and which under the conduct of Domenigo Flabenigo ultimately achieved a result of a magnitude and importance far beyond its design, was the prefiguration and prototype of the Oligarchy, which afterward exerted so despotic a sway over the Republic. While the commonalty was daily growing more servile and acquiescent in its temper, the influence of the Nobles had, since the era of the Revolution, been steadily in the ascendant. The latter now composed the leading ingredient in the body politic; and they already constituted a privileged class. All the offices of the government, civil and ecclesiastical, naval as well as military,[1] were vested in their hands. All charges of trust and emolument were confided to them. The episcopal and judicial benches were filled by men of noble blood[2] and antient lineage. The Dalmatian colonies were administered exclusively by patricians. Patricians alone competed for the Berretta and the Pallium; and, after the lapse of nearly five hundred years, there were not more than nineteen families which could boast that they had given Doges to the Republic.[3]

Still, with all these advantages, and they were

[1] Dandolo (lib. ix. pp. 230, 263–7, 272–3–8, 282, 290–3, &c.).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. pp. 254, 259).

[3] The Badoeri, Anafesti, Calbani, Sanudi, Orsi, Tagliani, Morosini, Tradenigi, Flabenigi, Orseoli, Centranigi, Contarini, Catanii, Polani, Michieli, Falieri, Selvi, Memi, and Tribuni.

certainly great, the nobility felt that, as a body, they had just reason to be dissatisfied with the position which they occupied in society; and there were two great constitutional abuses which combined to produce such a sentiment. The first was the principle of Universal Suffrage. Although an entire change had been wrought in the internal organization of the Republic; although she had experienced a wonderful advance in wealth and dominion, and her population which, in the seventh and even eighth century, probably counted hardly as many hundreds, now reached 65,000; although, with her increasing prosperity, her wants had multiplied, and her interests had acquired complication; still, the representative system was suffered to remain unaltered. At irregular periods, the three Estates of the Commune, the *Maggiori*, the *Mediocri*, and the *Minori*, were gathered from Grado to Cavarzero in the church of Saint Mark in the capital, or in that of San Pietro di Castello, where they proceeded to deliberate on the public concerns; in the presence of that large concourse of persons, the bulk of whom had necessarily little or no aptitude for forming an opinion on the topic of debate, all questions of general bearing and import were treated and decided; and unless it had passed the Arrengo, no measure was recognizable as valid. This condition of affairs was undoubtedly pregnant with evil; and it was such evil for which the advocates of Reform were now anxious to provide an early and efficacious remedy.

A second point, which bred bitter complaint among the upper class, was the extensive power which was lodged by the Ducal prerogative in the hands of their chief magistrate, and which, though certainly abridged to a considerable extent by the law of Flabenigo, was still too ample and concentric to find favour in the eyes of a proud and jealous aristocracy.

It was hardly to be expected, that the patricians should harbour any feeling akin to satisfaction or confidence toward a form of government, of which the two constituent ingredients were of a character totally inimical to the interests of their own Body. In the first place, there was a Legislature, which embraced every adult male inhabitant of the Islands without discrimination of rank, merit, or capacity. In such a promiscuous assemblage, there was too large an admixture of factious and turbulent spirits, and of men, who were apt to overrule wise counsels by giving the rein to angry passions; and it was tolerably plain, that it was useless to look to the Arrengo for the exercise of that despatch, which was sometimes essentially material to the proper management of public affairs. In the second place, they had an Executive, consisting of a Prince, who had been chosen from time immemorial, and was still chosen, out of a circle of nineteen families, and of a Privy Council of two members, who were eligible by himself, and might be his minions. The upper class was thus placed between two evils. On the one hand, though their voice in the deliberative Assembly was always weighty, it was

far from being paramount, and frequent instances had occurred, in which the voice of the mass prevailed. On the other, the Ducal office, though elective, was for life, and the highest dignity to which a Venetian could aspire, was necessarily foreclosed against a large majority of their own class. It was therefore perfectly natural, where the eligible candidates were so numerous, and the chance of reaching the goal of ambition was so slight, that there should be a general wish to substitute for the existing system one, under which a fair proportion of members of the aristocracy might be admitted to a participation in the honours and privileges of the sovereignty. In fact, the First Estate was bent on shaping the constitution of their country to its real wants and interests; and they conceived that the desired object was to be approached only by consolidating the Arrengo, and by inserting certain alterations in the Coronation Oath.

It was at this conjuncture that an event occurred, which powerfully arrested the general attention, and on which many subsequent events were destined to turn. On the evening of the 27th of May, 1172, Michieli III., as he was on his way to San Zaccaria, was stabbed by Marco Casiolo,[1] a factious malcontent, who had followed him out of the legislative assembly probably with the full intention of perpetrating the outrage. The flagitious deed, which thus hurried the career of Michieli to an abrupt close, raised an outcry of indignation and abhorrence among all classes and

[1] *Cronaca Altinate juxta Codicem Dresdensem*, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* v.

among all parties; and nowhere, perhaps, was that outcry louder than in the ranks of his own order. At the same time, the latter, while they shared the common sympathy and sorrow, were irresistibly tempted to regard the late catastrophe from another point of view. The death of Michieli was naturally suggested to their minds as an admirable opportunity for gaining a step at least in their favourite project of Reform. Such an opportunity might not soon recur: for more than one instance was known, in which there had been no vacancy of the Crown during eight-and-twenty years. Accordingly, the aristocracy procured leave, before a new Doge was appointed, to take such measures as might, on mature consideration, be deemed expedient, for revising the Ducal *Promission*.

Whether the Reformers possessed sufficient interest to act under their own responsibility, or whether they were counselled by prudence to take the sense of the great body of the people at each stage of their labours, we must forbear to decide. But it appears highly probable, that at least they had the tact to prepare the public mind for the forthcoming change by representing, in vivid colours, the abuses of the present system, and by insinuating, in soft and guarded language, that while the modifications which they designed to effect in the Constitution were without prejudice to popular rights and liberties, they were greatly calculated to promote the general welfare of the community. Again, treading in the footsteps of the men of 1033, it is likely that they professed to

act solely from a deep and solemn conviction, that the measures, which they contemplated, were conducive on every account to the public good. These were exoteric doctrines which Flabenigo and his compeers found it necessary or expedient to propagate, while they reserved their esoteric views for confidential ears. The task of investigating the important subject with which the Maggiori were now busying themselves, and of submitting to the Council of the Nation the model of a new government, seems to have been intrusted to the same Tribunal, which had already sent to the scaffold the murderer Casiolo. This tribunal, the Ducal Court, which had long existed in the Republic, and of which the Doge himself nominally officiated as president, was composed of three members, who from their antient custom of holding their sittings at Saint Mark's, derived the title of the *Judges of the Palace*. The *Corte Ducale* was in all probability selected as being the Superior Court of Judicature in the Commune; and it is not unlikely that the judges were allowed, in this particular instance, the faculty of enrolling supplementary members. The commission, to which the force of events had thus lent extraordinary attributes and had placed in a situation entirely novel, entered at once upon the discharge of its high and important functions: its labours extended over a space of six months: and no steps were taken to appoint Michieli's successor till toward the first week in January, 1173.[1] During the interregnal

[1] Marin (iii. p. 139); Sandi (ii. p. 401).

period, and while the inquiry was pending, the safety and business of the State were confided to the Privy Councillors of the late Doge, who thus remained in office, until his successor was appointed. It seems that this measure was designed rather to preclude the evils of anarchy and to insure the preservation of the public peace during the vacancy of the Dogate, than with any view of imparting to the Crown that attribute of perpetuity, which it has been held to possess under other constitutions. Elsewhere, by a politic and familiar fiction, the chief magistrate was held to be immortal, but at Venice it was the *government* which never died.[1]

The labours of the Commissioners of Reform were finished in November or December, 1172; they resulted, as might have been foreseen, perhaps, in some quarters, in an entire reconstruction of the Legislature, and the introduction of several important changes into the Executive. In the first place, the pernicious system of Universal Suffrage was abolished for ever. The Arrengo which, with the solitary exception of the consular triumvirate, might claim a higher antiquity than any other institution of the Venetians, was virtually extinguished, at a distance of upward of 700 years from the time when it was first called into existence; and it was replaced by an Assembly,

[1] Salverte does not appear to have known that this principle was carried into practice prior to 1192 (*Civilisation de Venise*, p. 85). I think perhaps he may have gone too far in supposing, that this measure *was meant at the time* to express "que l'autorité résidait dans la Seigneurie, et non dans la personne du Doge."

similar indeed in its objects and attributes, but differing materially in its character and principles. The whole City was now divided into six *sestieri* or Wards: San Marco, San Polo, Santa Croce, Castello, Canal Reggio, and Dorsoduro. Every Ward was required to furnish to the State two Commissioners or Deputies, recommended by their immaculate reputation, their unsullied integrity, and their long experience of public affairs. Each of these Deputies was, in his turn, charged with the responsible duty of sending to Saint Mark's, as the representatives of the Ward to which he belonged, forty citizens, possessing the like qualifications, four of whom might be members of his own family; and the Council of Four Hundred and Eighty, which was thus to be organized by the direct agency of twelve individuals, was to be denominated the Great Council (Mazor Conseio), and to be recognized as the General Legislative Assembly.

The Aristocracy was aware that there was a limit to popular forbearance. It also seemed to know where that limit lay; and, in a wise spirit of moderation, it determined to proceed in its work no further. Accordingly, the doors of the Legislature, which many might have wished to see shut against Plebeians, were thrown open (for the present, at least) to every class and section of the community; no distinctions of rank or caste ostensibly existed in favour of the nobility; merit was avowedly the sole title to admission, that the candidate was of suitable age the sole condition; and the judicious system of annual elections, by which

all members lost their seats, unless and until they should be re-elected, on the 29th September in each year,[1] appeared to shew no cause why the smallest and most inconsiderable burgher should not, in his turn, be invited to form part of the Great Council. Nor, indeed, although the Old Convention, in its original character as an ordinary Parliament, was now superseded, did the Patricians yet venture to suggest that the people had renounced their right to be consulted on all occasions of a solemn or special nature. So often as a vacancy of the Crown might occur, or the necessity might arise of declaring war, or of concluding peace, the Government was still bound to summon the three Estates of the Commune, as heretofore, from Grado to Cavarzero, to the Cathedral of Saint Mark, in order that the sense of the nation might be collected on the point at issue. This reservation, as well as the nominal extension of the suffrage to the commonalty, was almost supererogatory. For, so far as the suffrage was concerned, it was practically of little moment whether any limitation in regard to eligibility was made or otherwise. In a State constituted like Venice, there was every probability that, without pressure or compulsion, the Wards would return to the Great Council a very large proportion of members of the upper class; while, on the other hand, had it been openly proposed to enact a law of civil disability against the Plebeians, the latter might have

[1] Sabellico (*De Venetæ urbis Situ:* Venetiis, 1488); Sandi (iii. p. 401). The age subsequently fixed as a *minimum* was five-and-twenty.

taken alarm, and the consequences might have been fatal to the cause of Reform.

Almost immediately after its original institution the Great Council adopted a practice, in which it was followed by all the more intricate or secret tribunals, of deliberating with closed doors; and the invention of printing introduced a principle of publishing, for the use of members, a capitulary, or table of bye-laws. This capitulary, of which a re-impression was issued so often as alterations in the etiquette or mode of despatching parliamentary business rendered it necessary, was simply a handbook in which the forms of proceeding, and the order of sitting on the benches, as well as other points of detail, were laid down with unmistakeable lucidity.[1] Similar capitularies were provided for the Quarantia, both civil and criminal, for the Avogadors of the Commune, and for the Procurators of Saint Mark.

The establishment of fixed rules for the guidance of the Great and other Councils must be held, at the same time, to have formed part of the administrative system of the Republic at an epoch much anterior to the days of Spira and Jensou. The Ducal promission itself was, in fact, nothing more than a capitulary for the information of the Doge; and in the pages of Sanudo and other historians, numberless proofs might be found of the existence of such collections of bye-

[1] I have before me a copy of the *Capitulary* for 1577. It is printed in 4°, "in the Galle delle Rasse," and is entitled "*Capitolare dell' Eccellentissimo et Illustrissimo Maggior Conseglio.*"

laws. The capitulary of the Great Council was indeed the least elaborate and the least important. The latter chiefly dealed with formalities. The capitularies of the Doge, the Avogadors, and the Procurators, dealed with great constitutional principles.

Thus, then, was accomplished without bloodshed, almost without opposition, the first part of the political revolution of 1172; and thus the people abandoned without a struggle a position which they afterward struggled in vain to recover. It would be an absurd exaggeration to say, that from the hour on which the Great Council commenced its sittings, the commonalty ceased to exercise an influence over the Republic: yet it may be confidently affirmed that from that hour the power of the two lower Estates rapidly declined, and that thenceforward the aristocracy constituted the predominant element in the body politic.

The Judges of the Palace next took into consideration the delicate question of curtailing the Prerogative. The men of 697, when they instituted the Ducal Office, had designed it mainly as a curb on the lawless tyranny of the Twelve Tribunes; and during some time the Doge was regarded simply as the First Citizen and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. But his powers were very loosely defined. No line was drawn beyond which his Serenity could not legally or constitutionally tread. Much was left to his own sense of honour and justice, much to the direction of chance, or to the guidance of circumstances. The Republic

was not exempt from that tendency, which is incidental to every newly-formed society, to amalgamate the legislative and judicial functions with those of the Executive. The same mysterious and irregular authority which belonged to the Government of Rome before the institution of the Prætorship, belonged to the Government of Venice before the institution of the Privy Council (1172); indeed, it may be questioned whether in the latter case even a greater latitude was not given or assumed.

The result might have been foreseen. This slender bound was soon overstepped. The people offered little opposition. Slight encroachments on their liberties were easily overlooked; and to acts which were beyond doubt arbitrary and unwarrantable stretches of the ducal prerogative, they frequently extended a measure of forbearance, which could only be ascribed to phlegm or to fear. Even their occasional resistance to tyranny, marked by deeds of dark and horrid cruelty, left no deep or enduring traces behind it.[1] It established no principle. It taught no lesson. It was perfectly true, that an Oath was administered to the Doge on his accession, by which he swore to rule wisely and moderately, to

[1] "Ce chef, ce Doge," observes Salverte (p. 8), "l'ouvrage de ses égaux, tend presque toujours à les opprimer; alors même que la destinée de son prédécesseur lui devrait apprendre que la justice du peuple, pour être irregulière, n'en est que plus redoutable. Cinq siècles s'ecoulent, marqués par le meurtre de plusieurs Doges; . . . . expérience enfin avertit de diminuer au pouvoir, dont l'excès amassait sur la tête du chef autant de peril qué lui-même en pouvait faire courir à la chose publique."

dispense justice with an even and impartial hand, and to consult, in every instance, the honour and advantage of the Commune. But the Coronation Oath could not be really binding, unless it was supported by legislative enactments. At the same time the fact seems to have been that, what the precise nature and extent of the authority of the Doge were, few knew, or even pretended to determine.[1] Only the origin of the office was long and gratefully identified in men's minds with a great and momentous crisis in the history of their country, when a nation, maddened by oppression, had taken refuge as a last resource at the foot of a Throne: nor could they forget that, in the worst event, the new institution was a happy and beneficial change.

The case was at present widely different. In the effluxion of time the Dogate had attained a degree of splendour and dignity which wholly eclipsed the original simplicity of its character, and placed the holder of that high office on a par with emperors and kings; and, by a slow and almost imperceptible process, the chief magistracy of the Republic had acquired, under the three successive dynasties of the Badoeri, the Sanudi, and the Orseoli, a power not less unshackled, though it might be less secure, than that which was wielded in Germany by the House of

[1] "Il ne parait point," says Salverte (*Civilisation*, p. 51), "q'une loi spéciale eût fixé la mesure de l'autorité des premiers Doges. Que l'on ne s'étonne point d'une telle omission; mais plutôt de voir les Vénitiens marcher dans la carrière de la liberté, quand ils n'apercevaient autour d'eux que des esclaves."

Hohenstaufen, and in France by the House of Capet. That the Government should have a Head, and a Head capable of upholding the Majesty of the Republic, might be generally wished and intended; such an ingredient in the administration was not flattering to the national pride merely: it was justly considered also to be material to the integrity of the constitution, and to the preservation of the balance of power. But it was clear that it nearly concerned the public interest and welfare to delay no longer in circumscribing, within narrower and more intelligible limits, the vast and almost untrammelled authority which was at present vested in the Crown. The first care of the Commissioners of Reform was to extinguish the Tribunitial Duumvirate, which had been hitherto associated with the Doge, and of which a long experience abundantly proved the feebleness and futility: and, in the room of that Duumvirate, was instituted an Intimate or Privy Council, composed of six eminent and upright citizens, one of whom was to be nominated by each of the Wards.[1] It was understood to be the peculiar province of these new ministers to assist and advise his Serenity in all matters pertaining to the discharge of his high and multifarious functions; without their sanction and concurrence the acts of the prince were in future to be treated as void; and it was decided that the privy councillors should be elected on the accession of the next and of all succeeding

[1] *Reipublicæ Constitutio*, p. 29 (Harl. MSS. 4743); *Historia del Governo politico della Rep. di Venezia* (Egerton MSS. 18,174).

Doges, and that, unless some special circumstance supervened to shorten or prolong its duration, their term of office should be considered as having expired on the demise of the Crown.

The Republic was now provided with an Executive and a Legislature, both constructed on principles which indicated no ordinary measure of wisdom and foresight on the part of the Reformers. Still it was perfectly obvious that, from opposite causes, both were equally incapable of exercising a due and wholesome control over the affairs of the nation. As the former was too exclusive and concentric for such a purpose, so the latter was too numerous and incompact. Many questions might arise which, though not of sufficient gravity to warrant the convocation of the Great Council, were at the same time too weighty in their character and too general in their bearing to be settled by the Doge and his Advisers. To meet this difficulty, it was proposed to make an annual selection from the legislative body of sixty members who, under the designation of the *Senate*, and forming, as it were, a channel of communication between the Privy and the Great Councils, might take cognizance of all such matters as it was thought unnecessary to refer to the latter tribunal, and superintend the general management of the machinery of government. Such was, in its origin, the simple constitution of the VENETIAN SENATE. Its ranks were subsequently swelled by the accession of the *Pregadi* (60), *Sotto-Pregadi* (60), and other Bodies of functionaries, until the number of

Senators reached three hundred and upward. But, as this department of the Administration increased in numerical weight, its real influence declined. Down to the middle of the thirteenth century, both the number and composition of the Body were subject to much variation; and the personal authority of the Doge frequently exerted itself during that time, not only in the determination of the number of the Senate, but even in the selection of the Senators.[1]

The Commissioners of Reform, having completed these preliminary arrangements, which changed so considerably the relation of the several members of the body politic toward each other, the Great Council, —the work of their own hands,—at once proceeded to elect a new Doge. The process by which they attained this end, though simply tentative, was sufficiently novel and curious; it seemed to exhibit greater intricacy and elaboration than might have been expected in an age when the science of government was still in its cradle. In the first instance, the Legislature elected by ballot thirty-four candidates, recommended by their probity, experience, and other high qualifications. The objects of its selection were next reduced by a similar process to eleven.[2] The latter were constituted an Electoral Conclave; an oath was administered to them, binding them to observe, in the

[1] Giannotti (*Magistrati di Venezia*, p. 182); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 507); Navagiero (*Storia Veneziana*, p. 967).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (p. 170); *Sabellico de Venetis Mag.* sig. b. 2; *Reipublicæ Constitutio*, p. 34 (Harl. MSS. 4743); *Historia del Governo di Venezia*, p. 73 (Egerton MSS. 18,174).

exercise of their choice, the strictest impartiality; and the person, in whom the suffrages of nine of their number might happen to unite, was to be considered as the successor of Michieli III. The eleven met to deliberate in the cathedral of Saint Mark, the doors of which were thrown purposely open, in order that all suspicion of unfairness and corruption might be removed from the public mind; and, in presence of a vast concourse of spectators, they declared Orio Malipiero, one of their own number and a citizen of high standing, the object of their free choice. But the Doge designate, pretending a diffidence of his own ability to take the direction of affairs at a moment of such difficulty, declined the proffered dignity,[1] and proposed in his stead the senator Sebastiano Ziani, of Santa Giustina in the ward of Castello, a person of venerable deportment, whose eminent talents and ample fortune[2] better qualified him for that high and responsible station. The other members of the conclave objected not to the substitution suggested by Malipiero; his nominee was proclaimed Doge at the great altar of Saint Mark's by the Procurator Leonardo Fradello; to the new and judicious formula, "*Questo e vostro doge, se vi piacera,*" the people responded with shouts and acclamations; and Ziani, having been carried by the workmen of the Arsenal on a wooden chair (*pergamo di legno*) round the Piazza, where he distributed a liberal largesse among the bystanders, of money stamped with his own

[1] Diedo (lib. iv. p. 68). [2] *Cronaca Altinate* (lib. v. p. 145).

name, which had been coined for the express purpose the evening before, was solemnly invested, on his return to the cathedral, with the crown and the sceptre (7th January, 1173).

Sebastiano Ziani was the son of Marino Ziani, of Santa Giustina, in the ward of Castello. He was born in 1102.[1] In his twenty-second year (1124) he was appointed by the Doge Domenigo Michieli Podesta of Sebenigo. He subsequently filled the high office of Judge of the Commune, in which capacity his signature appears to various documents executed between 1151 and 1163, during the reigns of Domenigo Morosini and Michieli III. He was one of the principal subscribers to the Loan of 1160. In 1170, he was joined with his friend Orio Malipiero on a special mission to the Byzantine Court, at the critical juncture when the relations between his own country and that Power were of the most precarious nature; and it is already known how narrowly the Deputies escaped the horrors of a Greek dungeon. From this time till his elevation to the throne in 1173, the name of Ziani rarely occurs. The new Doge was equally distinguished by his wealth and his liberality. There was a curious tradition in the family, that it owed the foundation of its fortunes to the casual discovery by one of its remote ancestry, among the ruins of Altino, of a cow of massive gold, supposed to have been dedicated to Juno, who had a temple in the city. Whatever degree of truth there was

[1] Mutinelli (*Annali*, p. 49).

in this story, it is certain that the descendants of the legendary owner of the *Golden Cow* early acquired the reputation of being the richest family in the Republic, and at length, when it was wished to convey the idea of enormous possessions, it became a proverbial phrase to say:—"Such a one has *l'haver de Ziani.*"

Such was the Revolution of 1172, and such were the great and salutary reforms which it had the effect of introducing into the Venetian government. The people, little in the habit of thinking for themselves or of forming an independent opinion, silently acquiesced in the change. The Doge Ziani accepted office under the terms of the new constitution.

Yet one object which, by general acknowledgment was of vital and momentous importance to the community at large, still remained unaccomplished. While the organs of the aristocracy were occupied with retrenching the Ducal prerogative, and imposing limitations on the freedom of the people, the financial prospects of the Republic had gradually assumed the gloomiest and most discouraging character; and at the present juncture the funds in Saint Mark's Treasury were at the lowest ebb. One of the leading evils attendant on the late war was the heavy call which it made on the public purse; had not private subsidies supplied the deficiencies of the Fisc, it is no exaggeration to say that the war could never have been undertaken; and even under the actual circum-

stances, it had reduced the State to the brink of insolvency.[1]

Several antient statutes were in existence, which punished by a graduating scale of fines certain heinous offences against the State, such as the traffic in Christian slaves, the supply of arms or provisions to the Saracens, the encouragement of civil discord, or the connivance at seditious disorders in the Ducal palace. But this branch of the revenue was necessarily uncertain and precarious. Those penal laws were seldom enforced with rigour, and some were virtually little more than dead letters. In short, it became evident that, unless the Government at once took some prompt and vigorous step, a national bank-

[1] The two principal sources of revenue in those early times were the *Teloneo* and the *Ripatico*. The former was a toll which was taken from all vessels which entered the Venetian waters from the Po and the Brenta; while the latter, as its name implies (*ripa*), was merely an *ad valorem* duty upon all goods imported into the Republic. In what manner these dues were collected, is nowhere found expressed; nor does it seem possible to ascertain how far it entered into the Ducal prerogative to assume a control over the national income, or at what epoch a fixed allowance for the maintenance of the Doge and the expense of the government, was charged on the revenue, instead of the primitive method of voluntary benevolences. In addition to the Ripatico and Teloneo, the Salt gabella and other imposts, regular and irregular, contributed to fill the public exchequer; but the total amount realised by this Fiscal scheme was not very considerable. Still, if the resources of the State were not ample, its necessities were comparatively few; the unrivalled munificence of private individuals, which sprang from more or less selfish motives, undertook many burdens which were sustained, under more mixed constitutions, by the general body of the people; and the probability is that the proceeds of the customs and other dues, direct and indirect, continued to be perfectly adequate to the current ordinary expenditure of the administration, until in the course of time a sounder and more efficient system of finance was developed.

ruptcy would ensue;[1] and that was a consummation to which it was impossible to look forward without extreme regret and alarm. The course which Ziani pursued in this emergency, though not altogether without precedent, was sufficiently novel and remarkable. By the advice, it is to be presumed, and with the consent of the Privy Council, his Serenity determined to make an assessment amounting to one per cent. on the aggregate property of every household; and, in order that the fullest effect might be given to the measure, a new office was instituted, under the title of the Chamber of Loans (*Camera degl' Imprestidi*), composed of three members, who were designated the *Camerlenghi del Commune*, and whose special duty it was to frame a report, and keep a register, of the means of every person in the Commune liable to such assessment.[2] The sum realised by this process was allowed to bear an interest of four per cent.,[3] payable half-yearly in March and September, until a more prosperous aspect of affairs should admit the restitution of the principal. The foregoing measure was the earliest recourse among the moderns, to that great and important system of funding which became, at a later period, a recognised branch of the political economy of nations; and the

[1] Marin (iii. p. 160).

[2] Dandolo (lib. ix. p. 297); Sandi (ii. p. 418).

[3] This was the same rate which Justinian, under the appellation of *Trientes*, substituted for the *Centessiræ*, or twelve per cent., formerly taken. See *Blackstone*, by Kerr (ii. 473–4). In Mercantile Loans the Emperor allowed a higher scale.

Bank of Venice was the oldest institution of the kind in Europe.

It has been already intimated, that the loan of 1173 was not the earliest occasion, on which the Venetian Government carried into practice the theory of public credit. About ten years before the unfortunate rupture with the Court of Constantinople, the State, embarrassed by its pecuniary difficulties, borrowed from several opulent merchants in the name of the Commune, a sum of 150,000 marks of silver = 300,000*l.*; the subscribers to the loan were the present Doge Ziani, Orio Malipiero, Orio Orio, Pietro Acotanto, Cratone Dandolo of San Polo, and a few others; and the bond or guarantee, by which the Rialto, and all the dues arising from it, were mortgaged to them for a term of eleven years (within which period repayment of the money was promised) bore date the 4th June, 1160.[1] It is to be noted that this advance was purely voluntary; it does not even appear that it bore interest; and it may, perhaps, be regarded as the first debt of the sort which was ever contracted by the Republic.

The circumstances which attended the loan of 1173 render that measure an era of high importance in the history of Early Venetian Finance. It may be conceived, however, that the Funding System to which a Venetian parentage seems to be on valid ground assigned, differed not a little from that which constitutes so leading a branch of modern financial

[1] Sanudo (fol. 497–8–9) quotes this act textually.

economy. It differed in the degree in which an experiment differs from a science. Banking was then in its noviciate. Many politicians looked askance at the principle. They were alike ignorant of its value, of its working, and of its peculiar function; and nothing, perhaps, was more remote from their intention than the imposition of a burden upon their posterity by the creation of a National Debt. The earliest subscribers to the Monte-Vecchio were not unwilling to receive their half-yearly dividends; but they were far more anxious, in all probability, to recover their principal. The latter was guaranteed to them on substantial security within a limited term; and on the expiration of that term, the Fund was doomed to extinction, until another emergency arose, and another public credit was taken by the Government. In an age when specie was not abundant, and in a country where the number of capitalists was comparatively small, it was barely likely that this new class of investment would meet with much favour, or so long as it remained optional would be largely embraced. Nor was it reasonable to anticipate that a merchant would deposit in the Ducal Fisc, at four per cent., money which was possibly yielding in the course of commerce quintuple returns. Hence it may have been that, after a single trial in 1160, the voluntary principle was abandoned, and that when, thirteen years later, the Republic was compelled by fresh exigencies to contract a fresh debt, resort was had to compulsory assessment.

Prior to his departure from Scio in April, 1172, the late Doge, not yet forsaking the hope of effecting a reconciliation with the Byzantine Court, had for that purpose despatched to Constantinople Filippo Gritti and Arrigo Dandolo of the parish of San Luca, in the ward of San Marco. The Venetian embassy was received, as on two former occasions, with sufficient courtesy; but, as before, it failed altogether to achieve the object of its mission. At the same time, neither of the deputies could be accused of a want of zeal or perseverance. Dandolo, more especially, in whose hands his colleague Gritti left, to a large extent, the conduct of the negotiation, played his part with great firmness and spirit; and he represented, in language bold indeed, yet temperate and dignified, the vital interest which his country had, as a trading community, in the speedy conclusion of peace.

In the same year (1173), Vitali Dandolo (the younger brother of Arrigo), Manasses Badoer, and Vitali Faliero, proceeded to Constantinople to conduct the treaty for peace, while Arrigo himself was sent, in conjunction with Giovanni Badoer, to open a collateral negotiation with the King of Sicily, whom the Republic had long secretly regarded as her trustiest ally. The elder Dandolo and his colleague, who had received their instructions some months later, were not far advanced on their journey when they met the other embassy already on its return, accompanied by the messengers who had been charged by Comnenus with communicating to the Doge the basis of a treaty;

and the two Venetian envoys prudently determined to retrace their steps, and to await the result. But the conditions set forth by the representatives of Emmanuel were not favourably received; an attempt on the part of the Doge to obtain an amicable and definitive settlement of the difference equally failed; and Ziani and his advisers, despairing of bringing the matter to a satisfactory close, resolved, as a last resource, to knit their country more closely with Egypt and Sicily. Accordingly, in the early part of 1174, Leonardo and Marino Michieli concluded with William III. an offensive and defensive treaty for twenty years; while Arrigo Navagiero, who was simultaneously despatched to Egypt, prevailed upon the Caliph to grant a charter of trading privileges to the Venetian merchants.[1] The Republic could not but feel that she had somewhat compromised her dignity by her repeated endeavours to come to terms with the Byzantine Court, and she was not indisposed to avail herself of any opportunity which might occur of marking her resentment. Nor was such an opportunity long wanting.

From the outset of the war in Italy, the free Borough of Ancona, while it remained unshaken in its fidelity to the Court of Constantinople, had maintained, so far as regarded the affairs of the Peninsula, an attitude of strict neutrality. The sole instance in which the Anconese were led to deviate from this

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 169); Marco Foscarini (*Dei Viaggiatori Veneziani; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv.).

policy, occurred in 1163, when their town was besieged by the imperial troops under Barbarossa in person; and on that occasion they had the proud satisfaction of offering a successful resistance to the arms of the Hohenstaufen. From 1163 to the present time, the attention of Frederic and of his lieutenant Christian, Archbishop of Mayence, was fully occupied by the Lombard League and the affairs of Germany; and during the whole of that period Ancona was left in the enjoyment of freedom and repose. But now a new danger threatened her. She learned, in the course of the winter of 1173, that Mayence had formed a determination to spare no cost or exertion in winning for his master a position which commanded a fine harbour and a natural fortress; and it was soon understood that he counted on the co-operation of the Republic. The Venetians, in truth, were enchanted at the prospect of an enterprise which might at once afford them the means of retaliating on the Greek Emperor,[1] and of striking a heavy blow at a place which they perhaps justly denounced as a nest of pirates, yet which, at the same time, it was notorious that they regarded with animosity rather as the seat of a flourishing and competitive trade in salt and grain. The Doge consequently entered with willingness into the suggested Coalition; and on the 1st April, 1174, a powerful fleet of thirty-four galleys of war, jointly commanded by his son Pietro and by Marco Giustiniani, entered the harbour of Ancona,

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 301).

while the forces of the Archbishop took up a strong position under the walls.[1] Among the vessels of the Venetian squadron was one which, from its prodigious bulk, was christened *The World*. This vessel served to screen its companions from the projectiles of the Anconese, who were struck with amazement at its huge proportions and vast strength of build.[2]

The operations of the Allies were, however, indecisive in their result; and several months passed without bringing any considerable advantage to either side. The Venetian commissariat afforded a copious supply of necessaries to the troops of the Republic, as well as to those of her confederate. But the besieged soon began to sink under the pressure of want; and, as the ordinary means of subsistence failed them, all classes were by degrees obliged to resort to the most nauseous and revolting food. Nothing, however, could move the fortitude of the Anconese. No hardships or sufferings seemed to daunt their heroic courage. In the pages of a contemporary,[3] many proofs are preserved of the cool intrepidity and noble self-denial which the stout-hearted citizens exhibited under conditions so trying. One young female of rank, seeing a soldier lying prostrate from exhaustion, and faint with thirst, offered him her breast, that he might not want strength to serve the good cause; but the man,

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, p. 233).

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (p. 172); *Cronaca di Marco . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* (viii. 260).

[3] Buoncompagno (*Obsidio Anconæ, anno* 1174, *apud Murat*, 21); Saraceni (*Notizie della Citta d'Ancona*, part ii. lib. vi. p. 125).

seeming to feel the offer of the young matron as a reproof, started to his feet with renewed vigour, and returned to the post of duty. Neither had tasted, during some time, any other nourishment than vermin and soaked leather.[1] A second, snatching a lighted brand, mounted the fortifications, and set fire to a Venetian galley which lay under the wall; and, while the garrison performed prodigies of valour on the ramparts, divers, watching their opportunity, contrived in many instances to sever the cables of the vessels, and to send them adrift. In this manner the Republic lost no fewer than seven sail. Still the Anconese were conscious that, with all their bravery and resolution, their powers of endurance could not extend beyond a certain limit; and, indeed, the painful conviction was slowly forcing itself upon them, that they must soon either perish or capitulate: when one night in October, they beheld, from the tower of the Cathedral, the heights which commanded their City crowned with blazing torches. These torches heralded the approach and disguised the weakness of a small force, which was at last on its way to their relief.

Among those who admired the constancy of Ancona, and who shared her attachment to the Court of Constantinople, were Aldrude Frangipani, Countess of Bertinoro,[2] and Adelard de Marchesella, a wealthy

[1] "Anconitani tantis fuerunt miseriis famis et angustiis involuti quod oportuit eos comedere musipulas murilegos *solasque caleimentorum suorum*."—*Cron. di Marco . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* (viii. 264).

[2] Romoaldi Salernitani, contemp. *Chronicon Ap. Mur.* vii. 214.

gentleman of Ferrara. No sooner were Marchesella and Bertinoro apprised of the predicament in which the besieged were situated, than they at once determined to render them every assistance in their power. In such a cause no sacrifice appeared to be too great. The merchant mortgaged his patrimony; the countess pawned her jewels. Adelard raised a force of 2,400 horse as well as a large body of infantry; Aldrude contributed all her vassals and dependents.[1] This army marched from Ferrara through Ravenna, evaded the enemy who had taken up a strong position across the high road, by striking into a circuitous path; and, in the course of the fourth day's march, gained the heights of Falcognara whence, at a distance of a few miles, they beheld Ancona and its magnificent harbour lying at their feet. The Ferrarese troops halted on the heights till dusk; and so soon as the shadows of night began to fall, Adelard, having extended his line over so wide a space as possible, and having directed each soldier to attach to his lance two or three torches, descended the hill at a steady pace. The signal was joyfully recognised by the watch set in the tower of the cathedral; every other sentiment yielded, in the breasts of the besieged, to a deep and solemn emotion of gratitude toward their gallant and generous deliverers. The signal, which had wrought so powerful and profound a sensation in the city, was also observed, though misunderstood, by Mayence; and the archbishop,

[1] Muratori (vii. pp. 11–12); Sismondi (ii. p. 205).

conjecturing from the long range and lurid glare of the beacons, that an overwhelming force was coming to the rescue, gave the order for a general retreat, and retired, without risking an engagement, into the adjoining duchy of Spoleto. At the same time, the Venetians raised the blockade of the port; and the Republic withdrew not unwillingly from a contest, in which she had already spent seven months, and had lost eight galleys (November, 1174).

The participation of Venice in the siege of Ancona, which indicated no change in her policy and feelings, but which may be said to have proceeded partly from jealousy of a commercial rival, partly from malevolence toward the Greek Emperor, was attended, however, at least by one important and beneficial effect, inasmuch as it rendered Emmanuel more pliable. In April, his Majesty had evinced a decided backwardness to accept the terms of peace, which were offered to him by Ziani; in November he shewed himself most docile and tractable; and the Republic judged rightly, that the Emperor had now become sensible of the inexpediency of suffering his old ally to range herself among his enemies. A treaty was concluded, at his request, in the early spring of 1175, by which the relations between the two Powers returned to their former footing, and by which the equivalent to be accorded to the Venetians for the losses accruing to the mercantile community from the embargo of 1171, was fixed at *one thousand five hundred pounds of*

gold,[1] payable by instalments extending over a series of years.[2]

A few years before the accession of Ziani, and while Michieli III. was still on the throne, a treaty of peace had been concluded (1170) on terms of mutual advantage between the Republics of Venice and Pisa. This treaty had now either already expired, or was on the point of expiration; and some months subsequently to the reconciliation between Venice and the Byzantine Court, the Pisans, finding that, their war with Genoa and other Powers absorbing their whole marine, their merchant service was left without protection, determined to have recourse once more to the Republic. After some preliminary negotiation,[3] a convention was ratified at Pisa on the 8th September, 1175,[4] by the consuls of that commune on the one hand, and the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Diedo on the other, by which it was stipulated, that the Pisans should purchase security for their trade, and indemnity in the event of loss, with an annual tribute to the Ducal Fisc of twenty-five per cent. on the value of their commerce in the Levant. The reception of Diedo by the magistrates and gentry of Pisa was most flattering; everywhere the ambassador was treated with the most marked attention and

[1] Fiorelli (*Monarchia d'Oriente*, part i. p. 317); Lebeau (xvi. p. 265). Fiorelli was a Venetian.

[2] Nicetas (*De Manuele Comneno*, lib. v. pp. 225–26).

[3] *Croniche di Pisa, ad annos* 1170–5.

[4] Tronci (*Memorie di Pisa*, p. 140); Roncioni (*Hist. Pisane*, lib. viii. p. 256); Dandolo (lib. x. p. 311).

respect; and when he prepared to return to Venice at the end of September, he was overwhelmed with presents.

Sixteen years had now elapsed since the death of his predecessor Adrian IV., and Roland Ranuci still wandered from court to court, and from kingdom to kingdom, a suppliant and a refugee. Some States pleaded the oath of allegiance which bound them to Frederic, as a valid ground for refusing to afford shelter to his arch-enemy. Others, while they hesitated not to avow that their sympathies and inclinations entirely lay with him, plainly depicted the fearful risk which they would incur, by openly and actively espousing his cause, of drawing on their heads the vengeance of the Ghibellines. Sicily, indeed, had shown every wish to serve his Holiness, and to promote his interests; and her King was attached to Alexander by the ties of personal friendship. But Sicily, although she could at all times offer the illustrious proscript an asylum and a home, was precluded by her scanty resources as well as by her geographical situation, from lending him efficient aid, or from becoming the champion of the Church. In this dilemma, the eyes of the Guelphs turned not unnaturally on Venice. They began to feel that the Republic was in a better position than any other Power in Christendom to shield the Holy Father from unjust persecution, and to open the way to a reconciliation between the successor of Charlemagne and the successor of Saint Peter. She was an important member of the great Italian Commonwealth. She was

equally independent of both Empires. Her site, which had once pointed her out as a City of Refuge, was commanding and secure. Her Navy was the terror and admiration of Europe.[1] The Republic was neither a party to the Lombard League, nor an ally of the Ghibellines. Unlike Genoa and Pisa which, at an early stage of the War, had made common cause with Barbarossa, Venice continued with characteristic wariness to watch the course of events; and although she had, from the beginning, displayed a strong bias in favour of the liberal faction, she had not yet committed herself to any formal pledges. Consequently the Lagoon was still to be treated as neutral ground. To Venice, therefore, Alexander determined to make a last and personal appeal; and having for this purpose taken leave of the Court of Sicily late in the autumn of 1176, he arrived at Anagni, near Monte Cassino, toward the close of October. From Anagni he advanced to Benevento, which he reached on the 6th of December, and where a multiplicity of causes combined to detain him till the Epiphany, 1177. He sailed for Venice from the harbour of Goro on the Adriatic, on Ash Wednesday, the 9th of March. The papal squadron was composed of eleven galleys, which had been placed at the disposal of Alexander by the Sicilian prince; and in addition to the Count of Andria and the Archbishop of Salerno, who accompanied him as the ambassadors of William, his

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 161); *Cronaca di Marco . . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* (viii. 261).

Holiness was attended by a retinue of five cardinals. At the time of their departure, the breeze had been exceedingly propitious; but an unfavourable change supervened, and the voyagers were driven by stress of weather so far out of their tack, that they were glad to put in on Sunday, the 12th of the month, at Zara, the principal town in Venetian Dalmatia. They stayed at Zara four days. On Thursday, the 16th, they re-embarked, the sails being once more set for the Lagoon; and on Wednesday evening, the 23rd of March,[1] the vessel, which bore the Pontiff and his suite, entered the port of Lido. Alexander was lodged that night in the Abbey of San Nicolo; on the following morning, a procession of the Doge, the nobles, and the clergy came to welcome his Holiness to Venice;[2] and so soon as he had heard divine service in Saint Mark's cathedral, and pronounced his benediction on the assembled people, the Father was escorted by Ziani himself to the palace of the Patriarch of Grado at San Silvestro, which was assigned to him as a residence, so long as he might remain the guest of the Republic.

While fortune was so wayward and capricious toward Alexander, she was even less kind to his rival Barbarossa. Since the formation of the Lombard League in 1167, all the designs of that Prince had been frustrated, all his hopes had been falsified. His

[1] *Vitæ Pontificum Romanorum*, 470; Ap. Murat. iii.

[2] Gio. Villani (*Cronica*, lib. v. ch. 2: edit. 1823); Romoaldi Salernitani contemp. (*Chronicon*, Ap. Mur. vii. 518).

troops had been beaten at Cassano; they were repulsed at Ancona; and they were totally crushed in a battle, which took place at Legnano, between Frederic and the forces of the Guelphic confederacy, on the 29th of May, 1176. Nothing now seemed to remain to the Emperor, save an appeal to a man whom he hated, and to a State which he despised. Alexander, however, was not indisposed to treat; the Venetians, on their part, were prepared to mediate; and as an initiative, the Doge despatched Jacopo Barbolano and Filippo Orio to Naples, where his Majesty was staying, to ascertain his views, and to arrange the preliminaries. But the attempt of the embassy to establish the basis of an amicable settlement was altogether futile. The simple proposition, that he should acknowledge Alexander as the only true successor of Saint Peter, was sufficient, indeed, to goad him to phrenzy. He could scarcely find words to become the vehicles of his wrath. "Go," said he to Barbolano and his colleague, "and tell your Prince and his people, that Frederic, King of the Romans, demands at their hands a fugitive and a foe; that, if they refuse to deliver him to me, I shall deem and declare them the enemies of my empire; and that I will pursue them by land and by sea, until I have planted my victorious eagles on the gates of Saint Mark's." But this gasconade was perfectly innocuous. The Great Council remained unshaken in its resolution. The Venetians perceived that they were now in a position, from which it was impossible to draw back

with honour; and they felt pledged to protect the great and unfortunate man, who had taken refuge among them, and to vindicate his pretensions to their utmost power. There seemed to be no reasonable doubt, that Barbarossa would essay every possible means of carrying his outrageous threat into effect; and the Government determined to lose no time in adopting measures of self-defence. Thirty-four large galleys of war were at once armed, manned, and equipped. Thirty-four patricians, who belonged to the noblest Venetian families, and among whom the Doge's son Pietro was honoured by a place,[1] were selected as their captains. Ziani himself claimed the chief command. On the other hand, Otho, the son of the Emperor, had raised in his father's name at Genoa and Ancona no fewer than seventy-five sail. The disparity appeared to be indeed great: yet there was no alternative. For it was reported, that the German prince was already moving in the direction of the Lagoon; and several months must elapse, before the vessels, which were engaged in the merchant service, and which were lying, for the most part, at remote points, could be called home.

It having been announced then that the enemy were descried off the Dalmatian coast, his Serenity, seeing that procrastination was vain, resolved to take the decisive step without further delay; and on Thursday, the 26th of May, having bidden farewell to the Pope at the stairs of the Piazzetta, and having

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. pp. 301–2).

been girded by Alexander himself with a sword, richly chased and mounted in gold, he embarked on his barge, and ordered the signal to be given for the departure. The imperial squadron was discovered off Salboro, at a distance of seven miles from Pirano. It presented a broad and imposing front; and its vast superiority of numbers was evident to the most unpractised eye. But the Venetians were little in the habit of counting their foes; and as the wind blew from a favourable quarter, they bore down on the advancing force with their wonted impetuosity. Like all contests in which the belligerents are swayed by the fiercest of human passions, in which national antipathies are strengthened by party spirit and commercial rivalry, the engagement was furiously obstinate and desperately bloody; and the issue was trembling for a long time in the balance. Both sides were naturally anxious to sustain their reputation for prowess and skill. On the side of the Venetians, more particularly, there was every consideration which could nerve the arm and stimulate the courage. They felt that they were fighting in a great and holy cause, and that the most important results depended on their exertions. The destiny of Italy was in their hands for good or for evil. In the critical situation in which it was placed, a reverse might be fatal to the independence of their Commune, while victory, with such fearful odds against them, was highly calculated to exalt the glory of the Venetian name. They were led, too, by men of high and patriotic spirit, who had

a large stake in the safety and welfare of their country; and they were conscious that the eye of Ziani and the Republic was upon them.

The seamen of Genoa and Ancona were animated by scarcely inferior energy and enthusiasm. They, also, had a name to gain or to forfeit; and the latter, especially, were perhaps not reluctant to embrace so fair an opportunity of seeking retribution for the Siege of 1174. But their expectations experienced disappointment; the fortune of Saint Mark ultimately prevailed; and after a hardly contested battle of six hours,[1] the Venetians remained victorious. The rout of the German prince was complete. His loss was extremely heavy. Although two ships only foundered during the action, no fewer than forty fell into the hands of the conquerors. Otho himself was among the prisoners.[2] It was thought, however, inexpedient to detain him; and shortly after his arrival he was honourably dismissed, having previously afforded a solemn pledge that he would use

[1] Fra Jacopo Della Citta (lieutenant of his Holiness then in Avignon); letter to the Doge Giovanni Dolfino, 17th June, 1359; *Dandolo* (*lib.* x. p. 304); and Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 312). At Salboro, there is a very antient inscription on a stone, affixed to the wall of the local church, to the following effect:—

"Heus! Populi, celebrate locum, quem Tertius olim
Pastor Alexander donis cœlestibus auxit;
Hoc etenim pelago Venetæ victoria classi
Desuper eluxit, cecidit-que superbia magni
Imperatoris Frederici, reddita sanctæ
Ecclesiæ pax, tunc-que fuit jam tempore mille
Septuaginta dabat centum, septem-que supernus.
Pacifer adveniens aborigine carnis amictæ."

[2] Cagnola, *Stor. di Milano* . . . . *Arch. Storico Italiano*, iii. 8.

his offices with his father toward an accommodation. Alexander had hastened to meet his benefactor at the Piazzetta. They at once proceeded, accompanied by their retinue, to the Cathedral of Saint Mark, where they joined in thanking the Almighty for a triumph to which they had scarcely dared to aspire; and the Pontiff, turning to Ziani, offered him a ring, with these words: "Take this, my son, as a token of the true and perpetual dominion of the ocean, which thou and thy successors shall wed every year on this day of the Ascension, in order that posterity may know that the sea belongs to Venice by the right of conquest, and that she is subject to her, as a bride is to her husband." The Doge accepted the symbol; and it is said that in 1177 was performed, for the first time, that whimsical and pompous ceremony known to the Venetians themselves as the *Andata alli Due Castelli*,[1] by which the annual marriage of Venice with the Adriatic was celebrated down to a period within the memory of living men.

In the meantime, the influence of Prince Otho had been successfully exerted; and his father, whose spirit was completely prostrated by the result of the Battle of Salboro,[2] acceded, after some hesitation, to the suggestion of a Congress. The choice of place formed the subject of a long and angry controversy. The Guelphs named Bologna, Piacenza, Ferrara, or Padua; the Ghibellines and the Emperor himself insisted at

[1] Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, xii. 498–502).

[2] Gio. Villani (*Cronica*, lib. v. cap. iii.: ed. 1823).

first on Pavia or Ravenna. But Alexander was tempted by the security of the Lagoon; the free Communes rejected Pavia and Ravenna, on the ground that they had too strong a bias to Barbarossa; and even the Imperialists were sufficiently candid to acknowledge that the recent excesses of Christian at Bologna rendered it impolitic to select that City. It was then that Venice was suggested. It was true that the Republic had borne not long since an active and conspicuous part in the siege of Ancona, and had so far seemed to exhibit a leaning toward the Ghibellines. But it was well known that, in coalescing with the Emperor on that occasion, the Venetians were not actuated by any other motives than private pique and commercial jealousy. It was ultimately settled that the Conference should meet at Rialto; and the ambassador of Frederic having signified to Ziani the willingness and desire of his sovereign to ratify the terms of the peace in person, the Pope consented, as a peculiar mark of clemency, to re-admit his fallen rival within the pale of the Church. This important obstacle having been removed, and Frederic having accepted an assurance of good faith on the part of the Republic, the Doge's son, Orio Malipiero, and ten other[1] citizens, were despatched so far as Pomposa to meet his Majesty; and the Emperor, embarking with the deputies at that port, arrived on Saturday evening, the 23rd July, at San Nicolo Del Lido, where a commission of six cardinals was in attendance to absolve him formally

[1] *Cronaca Altinate*, 175.

from the papal anathema. Apartments were prepared for him at the Abbey, where he passed the night;[1] and on the morning of the 24th, a procession, not unsimilar to that which, on a former occasion, waited on Alexander, came to escort his Majesty to Saint Mark's, where the Pope sat in state, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and surrounded by the ambassadors of Sicily, France, and England, the delegates of the Free Cities, and a throng of peers and cardinals, bishops and archbishops. On his right hand was placed the Doge, on his left the Patriarch of Grado.[2] It was certainly a grand and imposing spectacle, and one which was apt to raise in the breasts of the spectators many strange and conflicting emotions; and while the greater part of those present looked on such a consummation perhaps as the triumph of a great man, the latter solemnly declared that to God alone was the glory.[3] Assuming a lowly attitude, Barbarossa approached the steps of the throne on which Ranuci was seated, and, casting aside his purple mantle, he prostrated himself before the Pope. The sufferings and persecutions of eighteen years recurred at that moment to the memory of his Holiness, and a sincere and profound conviction that he was the instrument chosen of Heaven to proclaim the predestined triumph of Right, might have actuated the Pontiff, as he planted his foot on the neck of the

[1] *Epistolæ Alexandri Tertii*, No. 392; *Recueil des Historiens de la France* (vol. v. p. 956, *et seq.*)

[2] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 173).

[3] Fleury (xv. p. 426).

Emperor, and, borrowing the words of David, cried: "Thou shalt go on the lion and the adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet." "It is not to thee, but to Saint Peter, that I kneel," muttered the fallen tyrant. "Both to me and to Saint Peter," insisted Ranuci,[1] pressing his heel still more firmly on the neck of Frederic; and it was not until the latter appeared to acquiesce that the Pope relaxed his hold, and suffered his Majesty to rise.[2] A *Te Deum* closed this remarkable ceremony; and, on quitting the cathedral, the Emperor held the sacred stirrup, and assisted his tormentor to mount. After his humiliation, Barbarossa proceeded through Tuscany to Genoa, while Ranuci, invited by the Roman Senate, set out for the Capitol (October, 1177).[3] He was accompanied by the Doge Ziani, than whom he might feel that few were more worthy of his friendship and of his confidence. The Pontiff carried with him many rich presents, which he had received not only from his Serenity and the Commune, but from several private citizens, among whom were a few ladies.[4]

In the course of his stay at Venice, Alexander, desirous of conveying a deep sense of the debt of

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[1] *Cronaca di Marco . . . . Arch. Stor. Ital.* (viii. 262).

[2] Giovanni Villani (*Cronica*, lib. v. p. 257); *Cronaca Altinate*, pp. 175–6; Bardi (*Dichiarazione di tutte le Istorie, che si contingono nella Sala dello Scrutinio della Rep. di Venezia*, p. 28, *et seq.*: Ven. 1587).

[3] Four of Alexander's published Letters are dated from Venice, viz., Nos. 391, 392, 393, 394.

[4] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 176).

gratitude which he owed to the Republic, accorded permission to Ziani and his successors to seal their public letters and despatches with lead instead of wax, and to employ on occasions of ceremony the silken canopy, the sword of state, the tapers, and the trumpets. It was a matter of notoriety that these usages had been followed by the Doges of Venice from time immemorial; but they now received the respectable sanction of the Holy See.[1]

During his sojourn among the Venetians, the Pope had occasion to pay a short visit to Ferrara, where he expected to be in a better position to accelerate the negotiations for peace.[2] Prior to his departure, a high mass was celebrated, in compliance with the general wish, in the church of Saint Mark; Ranuci himself afterward preached the Gospel in Latin, the Patriarch of Aquileia translating his discourse into German for the benefit of Frederic and his attendants: and at the close, his Holiness, descending from the pulpit, presented to the Doge a consecrated Golden Rose which, as the highest favour that the Apostolic Vicar could bestow on a temporal Prince, afforded a flattering testimony of the great value which he set on the services and friendship of the Republic, as well as a token of his personal esteem for Sebastiano Ziani.

By the Congress of Venice, which had restored tranquillity to Lombardy, and had terminated the war of the Factions, a peace of fifteen years was concluded

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 297).

[2] Romoaldi Salern. contemp. (*Chron.* folio 518).

between Sicily and the Empire, and between the Empire and the League a six years' truce, which again, by virtue of a second convention ratified by Frederic at Constance on the 23rd of June, 1183, resolved itself, on the expiration of that period, into a definitive treaty. Nor did Ziani, on his part, omit to procure at the same time the formal renewal of the mercantile charter of 1154, under which the merchants of Venice traded on easy and lucrative terms in the ports of Italy, and which had lain in a certain measure dormant, since the Republic openly announced her determination to espouse the cause of the Guelphs, and to support the pretensions of Alexander III.

The Doge, who had now attained his 75th year, did not long survive his return from Rome. Forewarned of his approaching end, he abdicated on the 12th April, 1178, and withdrew into the abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore, where he actually breathed his last on the following day.[1] By the will of Ziani, his ample fortune, which he had amassed by commerce, and chiefly during a lengthened residence in Armenia, was divided into numerous legacies and bequests. To the Armenian Company of Merchants at Venice, he left one of the houses which he owned in the street of San Giuliano;[2] and in conformity with the purest precepts of humanity, he placed in the hands of Reniero Zane, Procurator of Saint Mark, a consi-

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (p. 170); Dandolo (lib. x. p. 308).

[2] Filiasi (*Ricerche Storiche*, p. 137). The rest were bequeathed to his second son Jacopo.

derable sum, the interest of which was to be distributed annually in alms to the poor, and in special allowances to prisoners of war. Moreover, in the course of his memorable reign, the late Doge, emulating the example of his predecessors, had bestowed a considerable share of attention on the improvement of the architecture of the metropolis; the Place of Saint Mark, in particular, was rendered more spacious and picturesque by the demolition of many buildings, which were falling to decay, or which were inconveniently situated; and bridges of more elegant and elaborate construction were thrown by him across the Canals. There is a legend that the Doge having undertaken, at his private cost, to embellish and enlarge Saint Mark's and the Rialto, expressed a wish to remove for that purpose the old church of San Geminiano. Before he carried out his project, however, his Serenity thought fit to consult the court of the Vatican, and the Pope returned answer that, although the Apostolic See could not give its sanction to the commission of a sacrilegious act, it might extend its indulgence to that act when it had been committed. This ambiguous rescript was accounted sufficient warrant. The church of Saint Geminian, founded in the sixth century by Narses, the lieutenant of Justinian, upon an open space known in those times as the *Brolio* or Garden, and forming a portion of the abbey grounds of San Zaccaria, was immediately rased with the soil; and the site, as well as the surrounding land, having been already purchased by Ziani of the

Brethren of San Zaccaria, the old Canal of *Batario*, which then divided the *Brolio* into two parts, was drained and levelled at the expense of the new proprietor. The removal of the Church gave rise to a remarkable custom. On a certain day in each succeeding year, the Doge performed a whimsical penance for the transgression of which Ziani had been guilty, by repairing with a numerous and brilliant retinue to the Square of Saint Mark, where he was met by the Curé of the parish and his clergy: "Sir," said the priest, "I wish to know when your Serenity will be pleased to restore my church on its former site?" The Doge, thus challenged, immediately replied, "Next year." This answer was annually made, and this promise was annually broken.

By his wife Froiba, Ziani had four children, three sons, Pietro, Jacopo, and Luigi, and one daughter, Mabelotta. In his will, the old man made ample provision for all whom he left behind him.

On his return from Greece in 1172, the Doge Michieli III. brought with him, among other prizes, three lofty pillars of red granite, which it is generally believed he had taken from Scio during his cruise in the Mediterranean. At that remote period, the science of mechanics was in its infancy, and in the course of the difficult process of transferring these precious specimens of Hellenic art to the Piazzetta, one of them fell overboard, and was irrecoverably lost. The other two remained untouched till Nicolo Barattiero, a Lombard engineer, who had the superintendence of the late

works of improvement, signified his ability to raise them on the Square of Saint Mark. His offer was accepted; and the Government of that day, anxious to shew their full and grateful recognition of his services, asked him to name his reward. They had reason to regret this incautious liberality: for Barattiero, premising that games of chance had been heretofore severely interdicted at Venice, insinuated that the grant of an exclusive permission in his favour to keep Tables in the space between the two granite pillars would be considered by him an ample requital for any services which he might have rendered; and his employers, reluctant to retract their word so rashly pledged, agreed to tolerate the abuse. They were not the less conscious of the grave reflexion which this boon cast on the Commune. Such was the peculiar tone of Venetian manners in that age, that all classes of society united in reprobating the new custom as an outrage on decency, and an insult to the national pride; and the feeling at last became so strong, that the Government found it expedient to mark their sense of the scandal by a decree, that all malefactors and assassins, who had been condemned to capital punishment, should be executed thenceforth between the Red Columns.[1]

The reign of Sebastiano Ziani presented, in an unusually small compass, a far wider range of subjects for historical painting than any which had gone before it; and among the decorations of the Sala dello

[1] Pietro Giustiniani (lib. ii. p. 32).

Scrutinio, the romantic events which immediately preceded and followed the coming of Alexander III. to Venice in 1177, were admitted by the Government of a later day to a deservedly conspicuous place. The Genius of Art rekindled his extinguished torch in the embers of Time, and the Muse of History spread her ample volume before him; and the Venetians, after a long lapse of years, beheld their favourite old legends about Salboro and the Pontiff Priest of San Nicolo embodied in living colour by the hand of a Tintoretto or a Bellini.

On the abdication of Ziani, the Great Council met at Saint Mark's, to deliberate on the course to be pursued in the supply of the vacancy. It has been observed that the plan by which the nomination of the Doge had been vested in the hands of eleven citizens, was simply designed as an experiment; and, after a single trial, it appeared to be viewed with general dissatisfaction as being too exclusive and too open to corruption. It was therefore determined that the system should be again altered; and it must be owned, that the new scheme was infinitely more judicious. Four commissioners, "honest and God-fearing laymen,"[1] were now chosen, in the first instance, out of the whole legislative body; each of these commissioners made, at his own discretion, a nomination of ten persons, whom he might consider competent to discharge the duties of electors; and

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 183). "Quatuor honesti laici, et Deum timentes."

this conclave of forty members,[1] who might be presumed to be perfectly capable of forming a sound and impartial judgment on the point to be submitted to them, were empowered to elect the individual who might obtain the suffrages of twenty-one or more of their number, the successor of Ziani. The Forty occupied a period of three days in arriving at a decision; that decision was found to be in favour of Orio Malipiero, the same who had, in 1173, declined the berretta on the plea of unworthiness. On the present occasion, Malipiero was persuaded to accept the proffered dignity; and on the 17th of April, the new Doge, having taken the coronation oath, was proclaimed at the altar of Saint Mark's, in the usual manner, by the Procurator Reniero Zane.[2]

Lampridius, first Archbishop of Zara, having died in 1179, Eugubinus was chosen in his room; and by a papal Bull published some years before, his see having been made archiepiscopal only on the understanding that it should become suffragan to the metropolitanate of Grado, the new prelate was required, on his election, to take the prescribed oath. Nor was Eugubinus personally indisposed to comply. But his wishes were overruled by the people, who hated a foreign domination, and who had strongly opposed the conditional investiture of Lampridius with the pallium. The Zaratines conceived that it was sufficient derogation to bear the temporal yoke of the

[1] *Cronaca Altinate* (v. 183). [2] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 308).

Rialtine Fishermen; and they peremptorily refused to place their Church under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Venetian Primate. At the same time they hastened to shield themselves from the certain vengeance of the Republic by accepting the powerful protection of the King of Hungary. Bela III., who had succeeded his brother Stephen in 1173, lent a willing ear to their pressing solicitations; Zara was fortified, victualled, and garrisoned at his expense; and, inasmuch as it was not to be supposed that the Venetians would tamely submit to the loss of their dependency, a large Hungarian force was despatched to Dalmatia to keep in check any troops which their Government might employ in an attempt to recover the place.[1] The Zaratines and their ally, however, were led for some time to imagine that they had formed too high an estimate of the public spirit of Venice. That commonwealth, again hampered by financial embarrassments, long continued to retain a passive attitude; and it was only in the month of October, 1187, that the Government was roused from its lethargy, and that the sense of the Legislature was taken on the question of contracting a fresh loan. The scheme was approved by the Great Council; and the subscribers were informed that they would receive, as a security for the repayment, a mortgage for a term of twelve years on the produce of the Salterns and on the annual tribute of 400 *lire picciole*, with which

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 311); Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, dec. ii. lib. vii. p. 278).

the House of Morosini, in 1185, purchased in fief the islands of Ossero and Cherso.[1] The amount realised was 16,360 *lire*. With this seasonable aid, the Venetian Executive at once prepared to launch into war; and a fleet under the personal orders of Malipiero, left Venice for Dalmatia toward the close of November. The siege of Zara, however, which had been so long deferred, and for which the Republic had thought it worth her while to add to the debt of the nation, proved itself in the event a total failure. But it was a failure, which could hardly be said to reflect discredit on the Doge. Even before the united efforts of her inhabitants and the Hungarian engineers rendered her almost impregnable, Zara had been accounted the strongest fortress in the Venetian territories. Her garrison, which was largely composed of Royal troops, was numerous, well armed, and well disciplined; the stupendous altitude of her towers, and the massive thickness of her ramparts, seemed to defy every engine which could be brought against them; and the occupation of her suburbs and environs by the forces of Bela, while it precluded his Serenity from creating a diversion, or from extending his line of operations, afforded the besieged the means of procuring a copious supply of stores and provisions. At the same time, the repeated attempts of the besiegers to gain an

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 524). It appears that the House of Ziani contributed toward the loan no less than 1,116 *lire;* the Caravelli, 900; the Falieri, 620; the Michieli, 350; the Venieri, 200; the Dandoli, 150; the Memi, 250; the Donati, 250; the Contarini, 200. Total by nine families, 3,946 *lire*.

entrance into the place were not unattended by much bloodshed and severe loss of life; and, late in the autumn of 1188, Malipiero decided on withdrawing from a contest so inglorious and so unprofitable. His ostensible motive in taking such a course was his anxiety to participate in a new expedition which was contemplated to the Holy Land.

The successes of the Emir Saladin had now long been deemed a scandal to Christendom; the whole of Palestine was overrun by the misbelievers; and the Apostolic See, alarmed by the sombre prospect, and never weary of preaching a cause of which it was the great spiritual exponent, began, in the closing years of the twelfth century, to exhort the princes of Europe to join in a fresh crusade against the Mohammedan power. The exertions of his Holiness were not without their fruits. France, England, Austria, Saxony, and Hungary, promised to form armies; Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Ancona, and other maritime States, agreed to furnish transports and naval armaments. But the re-establishment of peace was material to success. England was at war with France; Venice was at war with Hungary, and the first care of Clement III. was therefore to propose a reconciliation between Richard Lion-Heart and Philip Augustus, and a truce, at least, between Bela and the Republic. In both instances his intercession was effectual. In the autumn of 1188, Malipiero raised the siege of Zara; the remainder of that year was consumed by preparations for the new campaign in the East, and a pre-

caution which had been thought superfluous during the Hungarian war, was taken preparatory to a more distant enterprise, in the recal of all the mercantile caravans and of all vessels stationed abroad.[1] The execution of this measure, which was probably designed with a view to the formation of a Naval Reserve, involved considerable delay; and it was not till the summer of 1189, that the fleet commanded by the Doge in person, left its moorings. Near the mouth of the Gulf of Adria, Malipiero effected a junction with a Pisan armament, bound for the same destination.

The siege of Saint Jean d'Acre, to which the confederates had directed their efforts, was formed on the 28th of August, 1189, the day of Saint Augustin; the troops of Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, invested the place by land, while the allied forces of the Pisans and Venetians afforded maritime succour. Yet, although the besiegers far surpassed the besieged in resources and numerical strength, Acre was resolutely held against them till August, 1191; and, had not Saladin been precluded by unforeseen causes from rendering her the promised relief, it is probable that the Christians would never have set foot in the town. Their tardy and inglorious success was dearly bought; in the course of the operations, which had extended over a period of two years, nearly 60,000 pilgrims perished by hunger, pestilence, and the sword;[2] and,

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 313); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 527).
[2] Michaud (ii. lib. viii.)

while the commercial world at Venice were delighted to recover their Quarter and their trading privileges, the Republic had reason to lament the loss of many of her children, who had fallen before those walls.

About the year 1188, a momentary breach occurred between Venice and Ferrara respecting the right of dominion over the Loredan. The point of difference was, by mutual consent, submitted to arbitration; each party chose two representatives, the Venetians, Pietro Foscarini and Arrigo Dandolo of San Luca, the Ferrarese, Giuseppe Mascardi and Guido Torello; and by virtue of the award which was delivered in her favour, the Republic continued to exercise the sovereignty which she had acquired, so far back as 991, over the territory under dispute.[1]

The reasons which influenced Malipiero in declining the berretta in 1173, and in accepting it with unfeigned backwardness five years later, had not really lost much weight during a reign of twelve years; the Doge still secretly sighed for cloisteral solitude; and, in the course of December, 1191, his Serenity, having at length expressed a desire to pass the remainder of his life in seclusion, begged leave to abdicate. The Legislature gave its assent; and Malipiero retired into the monastery of Santa Croce, in Luprio.

On his withdrawal from the Chief Magistracy, the Great Council, with a view to the prompt settlement of the succession, at once proceeded to name the four Commissioners. Its choice fell on Stefano Vioni,

[1] P. Giustiniani, *Chronica di Venetia*, p. 58 (King's MSS. 148).

Marino Polani, Antonio Navagiero, and Arrigo Dandolo of San Luca.[1] Each Commissioner, in his turn, made choice of ten citizens, in whose judgment and experience he placed entire confidence; and on the 1st January, 1192, the Forty pronounced an unanimous decision in favour of one of their own electors, Arrigo Dandolo of San Luca, the same who had accompanied Pietro Foscarini to Ferrara in 1188, and had been sent, several years before (1170), by Michieli the Third, on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople touching the affairs of the Republic in the Lower Empire. Dandolo had already attained a great age; and, under ordinary circumstances, it might have seemed that the weight of years barely afforded a probability of the due discharge of the arduous functions which belonged to the Ducal office. Yet his eminent talents, and the high character which he bore for prudence and sagacity, raised him far above all other competitors, and appeared almost to keep the consideration of age out of view. The countenance of Dandolo was slightly disfigured by an injury, which the visual nerve had sustained from a casualty in earlier life; but, in other respects, the hardy veteran preserved, in an unusual degree, the fire and vigour of mature manhood.

The frequent destruction of the Venetian Archives by fire has hitherto rendered it impossible to afford any exact information touching the conditions which the Promission, or oath administered to each new

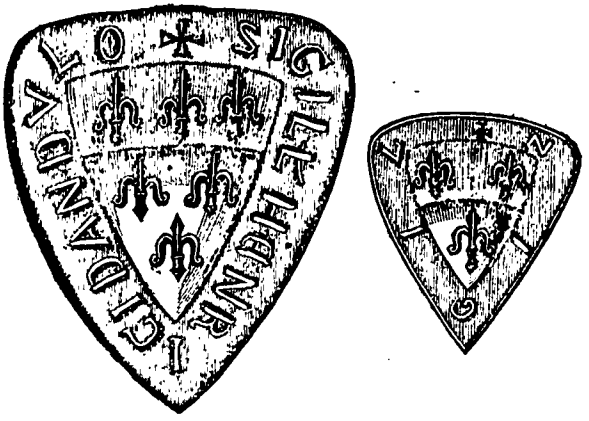
[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 314).

Doge on his accession, involved, or the obligations which it imposed on the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. The oath taken by the successor of Orio Malipiero is the earliest known to be in existence; and its preservation is the more important that it was probably identical in all essential respects with that subscribed by the Doge Ziani after the Revolution of 1173. By this instrument the venerable Dandolo was bound to observe and maintain the existing Constitution; to consult, in all cases, the honour and advantage of the Commune; to be prompt in rendering justice, impartial in dispensing it; to carry the laws into execution without giving them a false or arbitrary interpretation; not to dispose of the public property without the cognizance and consent of the Legislature and the Privy Council; to be strictly regulated in pronouncing judicial sentences and decisions by precedent and established usage, or failing these, by his own judgment or conscience; and to adhere closely, in the appointment of patriarchs, bishops, judges of the Commune, judges of the Palace, notaries, and other public functionaries, to the form and method of election prescribed and recognised in each instance. He was bound to abstain from sending letters or despatches to other Powers without the advice and consent of his Privy Council, and not to divulge the secrets which might at any time be intrusted to his keeping. Moreover, exclusively of certain minor points, on which there is no present necessity to dwell, his Serenity engaged to furnish at

his own expense, in the event of a war, a contingent of ten armed galleys; while he pledged himself, in instances where he might have cause to complain of private or personal wrong, to prefer his suit or charge, like any other member of the Commonwealth, before the ordinary tribunals, refraining from procuring redress by an illegal or arbitrary exercise of his official authority.[1] Such were the principal conditions which the Doge swore to fulfil, and such were the leading restrictions which were laid on his prerogative. Subsequent events must shew how far a literal compliance with those conditions might depend on the circumstances in which the Republic was situated, as well as on the personal character of the individual who had the direction of affairs.

The somewhat severe constitutional restraints which

[1] *Promissione del Doge Enrico Dandolo; Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendix, No. 29; 1858. A copy of the Seal is subjoined.



SIGILLUM. CONTRASIGILLUM.

were embodied in the Promission of 1192, throw much light on the opinions then received on many points of political doctrine. It is highly relevant to the present subject to mark the solicitude which the Venetians of the twelfth century displayed to surround the Ducal Throne with more than formal limitations, and to inculcate upon their Supreme Magistrate the fundamental principle, that he was of, and not above, the Republic. It is of consequence to know that at such an epoch there was one Government which was incessantly reminded that it ruled only for the good of the community; one country in whose jurisprudence the value of usage and precedent was largely appreciated; and one people who ventured to hold that statutes were not made by legislators to be trampled under foot by tyrants. Imperfect and faulty as some constitutional theories might naturally be found, even at Venice, in their reduction to practice, it is nevertheless important to note the emphasis and stress which were laid on a general adherence to the letter of the Promission; and it is interesting to contemplate, through the medium of the Coronation Oath of Dandolo, the development and dignity already given to a Common Law, which was archetypical of the Common Law of all other modern European societies.

Shortly after the accession of Dandolo, a serious difference arose between Verona and the Republic on the subject of certain piracies and depredations to which the Venetian traders had been lately exposed on

the Adige. It was complained that the Municipal Council of Verona was responsible for these outrages; that, if they were not actually perpetrated under its sanction, it was cognizant of their commission; and it was intimated that, until ample reparation was forthcoming, and a guarantee was afforded for the future, the relations between the two Communes were suspended. The high ground thus taken by the Venetian Government, and the firm tone of the Doge, had the desired effect. It was not only that the Veronese were reluctant to forego the advantages which they derived from their intercourse with the Republic, but they had every reason to surmise that, in the event of her remonstrance meeting with an unfavourable reception, the latter would not hesitate to resort to ulterior measures, and it was far from being their wish that the affair should reach that climax. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the Council engaged to pay an indemnity of 10,000 *lire*, and to refrain in future from molesting the commerce of the Republic on the Adige. Moreover, it promised to draw its entire supply of salt from the Venetian market, and to reduce the tariff on Venetian importations into Verona.

The close of the truce with Bela, which had merely embraced a term of two years (1188–90), gave rise to a natural wish on the part of the Venetian Government to regain possession of the fortress of Zara, which still adhered to the Crown of Hungary; and in 1193–4 a squadron was sent thither for the purpose.

Yet although the Republic had suffered some years to elapse since the expiration of the armistice, and she had had, as it might seem, full leisure to organize a powerful fleet, the expedition miscarried; and that refractory fief still continued in a state of independence.

The contract, which had been concluded, in the time of the Doge Ziani (September, 1175), between Venice and Pisa, did not expire till September, 1185; in the following year the Third Crusade was published; and that disastrous undertaking unavoidably prolonged the alliance of the two Communes till August, 1191. In the early part of 1192, however, and shortly after the return of the Pilgrims to Europe, a Pisan squadron sailed up the Gulf, and entered into occupation of Pola. The Venetian Government hastened to concert measures for the recovery of the fief; and Ruggiero Premarino and Jacopo Quirini proceeded with a fleet in quest of the enemy. But the latter eluded an engagement, and peaceably evacuating the port, abandoned the enterprise; and the Venetian commanders, having wrung a fresh oath of fidelity from Pola, and rased a portion of the battlements, pursued their course along the Mediterranean, until they reached Modon,[1] in the Morea, off which they captured three[2] Pisan argosies, richly laden. This seizure was

[1] At Abydos, the Venetian commanders were forced to contract a loan, which was subscribed by all the captains of galleys, by Premarino and Quirini themselves, and by others. The document may be seen entire in Romanin (ii. *Documenti*).

[2] Da Canale (sect. 55).

well calculated to foment and embitter the international animosity; and a war was again imminent, when the Holy See interposed its authority, and prevailed on the two Governments to consent to a cessation of hostilities. The wound however was ill closed; it broke out afresh a few years later, the proximate point of difference being the free navigation of the Adriatic, which Venice refused to admit; and on this occasion, the Pisans leagued themselves with the opulent and powerful city of Brindisi. But the Allies were totally defeated in an engagement near the mouth of the Gulf in 1201; and the Venetian Commanders directed their course after the action toward Brindisi,[1] which was forced to expiate severely the part which it had borne without any adequate provocation against the Republic.

On the decease of Celestin III. in 1197, the Electoral College named as his successor Innocent III. The energetic and ambitious character of Innocent, who was only in his thirty-seventh year, naturally led men to augur a speedy arrival of that grand struggle, which had resulted, twenty years before, in the triumph of the Church over the State. They even foretold, that the future of Innocent would be more prosperous than that of the illustrious Alexander. In fact, during the opening years of his reign, the new Vicar bent to his will the princes, who wore the crowns of England, France, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Arragon, and

[1] Dandolo (lib. x. p. 317); Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 427); Paolo Morosini (lib. v. p. 132).

Castile; and the Lombard Cities, while they asserted and maintained the municipal rights for which they had fought so well, were content to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Apostolic See.[1] The only two Powers, which seemed disposed to demur to the claims of the Roman Pontiff, were the Republics of Venice and Pisa, the former of which was at present guided by a man, whose strong sense, high moral courage, and inflexible firmness of purpose, promised to render him a formidable opponent of the Court of the Vatican.

Toward the close of the twelfth century, the situation of the Christians in the Holy Land was perilous and deplorable in an extreme degree. Nearly the whole of Palestine had been gradually recovered by the Saracens who, by their martial prowess, their equestrian skill, and their numerical superiority, easily overpowered the resistance of the Crusaders. The latter, whose ranks had been thinned by slaughter, want, and disease, were in the last stage of misery and distress. In spite of the urgent and reiterated appeals of the Kings of Jerusalem and Armenia, the Patriarchs of Antioch and the Holy City, and the Bishops of Syria, no reinforcements arrived from Europe. It was probable that they would now arrive too late: for Sion itself and the Sepulchre were already within the grasp of the misbelievers. The ardour of Christendom in truth was chilled by the terrible reverses which the pilgrims had suffered on

[1] Sismondi (*Rep. Ital.* ch. iii. p. 85).

the plains of Ascalon, before the walls of Acre, and in the Valley of the Jordan. The Third Crusade was remembered as one of the most calamitous and ill-concerted undertakings on record; the Fourth was a total failure; and the present state of Europe was, in many respects, unfavourable to the organization of a new expedition. England was at war with France. France was at variance with Denmark. Hungary was divided against itself. Henry VI. of Germany was dead, and his son Frederic was yet a child.

But the Pontiff and his agents were not to be deterred by any obstacles. Their zeal and energy surmounted every difficulty. Innocent himself wrote an encyclical letter to the rulers of the Christian commonwealth, depicting in strong colours the distressing predicament in which their brethren were placed, and demanding, in language which admitted no refusal, their prompt co-operation in affording the sufferers aid and relief. Foulkes, Curé of Neuilly-sur-Marne, instilled by his simple, but glowing eloquence, a spirit of fervid and fierce enthusiasm into the warriors of France, Flanders, Burgundy, Navarre, Blois, Chartres, and Champagne. Martin Litz, a Cistercian, preached the Crusade in the diocese of Bâle and on the banks of the Rhine. Heloin, a monk of Saint Denis, traversed the savage provinces of Brittany and Poitou; and Eustace, abbot of Flay, crossing the Channel, appealed to the courage and piety of England. Peter of Capua, the Cardinal-

legate, repaired to Paris to effect a reconciliation between Richard Lion-Heart and Philip Augustus; and all Frenchmen, who should undertake the pilgrimage, were emancipated from the interdict under which their king and country had lain since the divorce of the former from his wife, the daughter of the King of Denmark. At the same time, every pretext for refusal, every obstacle to compliance, was removed. All Christian governments were enjoined to abstain from imposing restrictions, such as the payment of tithes or the performance of feudal service, on any persons who might shew a disposition to take the Cross. A papal indulgence was published, tempting recruits with the hope of absolution. The Church contributed to the cost of the enterprise a fortieth part of her revenues. Innocent melted his vases and dishes of gold and silver, and contented himself with a plain dinner-service of wood and hardware.

The oratory of Foulkes of Neuilly was everywhere triumphant. Thousands flocked to his standard. The streets of Paris, the banks of the Marne, and the plains of Champagne were deserted. Doctors left their patients. Lovers forsook their mistresses. The usurer creeped from his hoard. The thief emerged from his hiding-place. All joined the holy Phalanx. The joust and the tournay, the love of ladies, the guerdon of valour, were alike forgotten in the general excitement, the tilters taking the vow, and assuming the emblem of sanctity; and in a short time, the flower of French

chivalry, from Boulogne to the Pyrenees, was assembled under the banners of Theobald,[1] Count of Champagne, and his cousin Louis, Count of Blois and Chartres. The example of those noble youths[2] was readily followed by Baldwin, Count of Flanders and Hainault, and his brother Henry, both of whom took the cross at Bruges; by Hugh, Count of Saint Pol; Geoffrey de Villehardouin, Marshal, and Geoffrey de Joinville, Seneschal, of Champagne; Matthew de Montmorency, Exerard de Montaigne, Simon de Montfort, John and Walter de Brienne, Conon de Béthune, Renaud de Montmirail, the Bishops of Soissons, Troyes, and Langres, and an innumerable throng of barons and knights.[3]

In Germany the exertions of Litz were attended by a less brilliant result. They were, however, far from being unsuccessful; and among those whom that zealous missionary proselytised were counted the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brabant, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Marquises of Brandenburg and Moravia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Counts of Pappenheim and Hapsburg, and the Bishops of Brehmen, Wurtzburg, Ratisbon, and Halberstadt.[4]

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[1] Marino Sanudo Torsello (lib. iii. part xi. c. 1).

[2] Theobald was twenty-two, his cousin twenty-seven, years of age; both were connected by marriage with the royal families of France and England.

[3] Villehardouin (*Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 2, *et seq.*—*Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1838). The Chronicle of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, translated by T. Smith (of Leicester): Lond. 1829. *Vitæ Pontificum Romanorum*, Ap. Murat. iii. 526.

[4] Michaud (v. p. 15).

The country in which the emissaries of the Holy See met with the coldest reception was England; two Englishmen of note only participated in the expedition; and they were the Earls of Norwich and Northampton.

The outline of the new enterprise, the distribution of the troops and their destination, were arranged in two General Councils, the former of which was held at Soissons in the valley of the Aisne, and the latter at Compiegne on the banks of the Oise; and in consequence of the frightful disasters of the earlier Crusaders, who traversed on foot the savage and sequestered provinces of Dalmatia, Germany, and Hungary, it was decided that a negotiation for an adequate supply of ships and stores should be opened at once with the Republic. The Council of Compiegne named accordingly six deputies, of whom Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Miles de Brabant were appointed to act in the name of the Count of Champagne, Conon de Béthune and Alard Maqueraux in that of the Count of Flanders, and John de Friaise and Gauther de Gondonville in that of the Count of Blois and Chartres, the three principal members of the Crusade; and the embassy having been furnished with full powers to treat, set out forthwith for Venice, which they reached on the 15th February, 1201.[1]

On landing at the Piazzetta, Villehardouin and his five companions sought an interview with Dandolo;

[1] Ramnusio (*Guerra di Constantinopoli*, lib. i. p. 12).

and the venerable Doge having expressed his satisfaction at such an illustrious visit, desired to be acquainted with the object of their journey. The envoys replied by presenting their credentials, which unfolded the titles and authority of the bearers; and his Serenity having scanned those documents, evinced a farther wish to know their pleasure. Villehardouin explained to the old man the weighty business which had brought them to Venice. "Sir," concluded the Marshal, "we pray you to convene your Councils, before which we will lay the message of our lords—to-morrow, should you be willing." Dandolo, however, begged a space of three days, in order that he might revolve the question in his own mind, and take the opinion of his Privy Council upon it; and the plenipotentiaries readily acquiesced in this brief delay, and lodged at the Ducal Palace, "which," writes the Marshal, "was very beautiful, and abounding in rooms."

"On the 19th February, the Great Council was convoked; and after mass, the Marshal of Champagne rose from his seat, and, addressing the Doge, said: "Sir, we have come hither on behalf of the Barons of France, who have taken the sign of the Cross to avenge the dishonour of Jesus Christ and to conquer Jerusalem, if it be the will of the Lord; and inasmuch as they know full well that no nation is so potent on the seas as is yours, they do implore you to consider how they may have ships wherewith to accomplish their pilgrimage." So soon as Villehardouin had finished his address, his Serenity informed him that

the Republic would readily entertain their message, and that in eight days he would make known to them the conditions on which she would be prepared to meet their wishes.

On the 27th of February, the Doge laid before the Deputies the outline of a contract. On the one hand, the Venetians engaged to furnish, and maintain afloat, for a period of twelve months, dating from the day of departure, vessels adequate to the transport of 4,500 knights, 9,000 esquires, 20,000 *sergents* or foot-soldiers, and 4,500 horses; to provide both men and beasts with all the means of subsistence for nine months, similarly reckoned; and to equip, at their own cost, fifty armed galleys, for the service of God and the pilgrims. On the other hand, the Barons were required to pay to the Ducal Fisc, within two months, or prior to their departure, a sum of 85,000 marks[1] of pure silver (standard of Cologne); to divide in equal proportions with the Venetians any conquests either by land or by sea, which they might make conjointly hereafter; and to enter into no contracts for supplies with Cremona, Imola, Faenza, or Bologna, without the full consent of the Republic. These equitable terms were accepted by the Deputies; and, on the 28th February,

[1] The mark was valued at 50 francs, or 2*l.*; 85,000 marks were consequently equivalent to 170,000*l.* The Venetians reckoned four marks for each horse, two for each man. Leber (*Essai*, p. 102) estimates the difference in the value of money to have been in the ratio of 8 to 1; and according to this rate of valuation, the 170,000*l.* paid by the Barons to the Republic would represent in English money of the nineteenth century no less than 1,360,000*l.*

the contract, as well as the proposition generally, was submitted for final approval to the National Convention. The strangers were invited to be present; and the zealous Marshal, deeply interested in the result of the mission, was again spokesman: "My Lords," said he, addressing the people at large, "the most high and puissant Barons of France have deputed us unto you, to beseech you to have compassion on the City of Jerusalem, which has fallen into the hands of the infidels, and to accompany us to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ. And they have more especially chosen you in this matter, since they know that you are the mightiest nation on the sea that is, and us have they bidden to throw ourselves at your feet, and not to rise, until you shall have granted our request." Thereupon, Villehardouin and his companions kneeled, weeping profusely; and the people, strongly affected by their tears, lifted up their hands with one accord, and shouted, "We agree, we agree."

On the following day, the contract was signed and sealed in the presence of Dandolo who, when the operation was complete, sank on his knees, and swore on the Gospel to abide by the text of the agreement; and the representatives of Theobald, having borrowed of a Venetian banker 2,000 gold pieces, which they placed as a surety or instalment in the hands of the Doge, returned by Mont Cenis to Champagne, to acquaint the Count with the success, which they had experienced. At the same time, while the instrument was sent to Rome to receive the sanction of

Innocent, Conon de Béthune and Alard Maqueraux repaired to Genoa, and the two remaining deputies to Pisa, to solicit those Powers to aid the holy undertaking.[1] The Republic on her part hastened to make her preparations. They were upon such an unusually large scale that supernumerary operatives were hired by the Masters of the Arsenal; and the small coins current in the Dogado being found inconvenient, a new silver piece, bearing on the obverse the effigy of Dandolo, was issued by the Mint for the pay of the workmen.[2]

Meanwhile, the Envoys who had gone in quest of the Count of Champagne, found Theobald at Troyes, stretched upon a bed of sickness. The feverish impatience of youth deceived the patient, and aggravated the malady; his recovery soon became hopeless; and those, who surrounded his deathbed, had too speedily cause to deplore his early fate. The valour and enthusiasm of Theobald were inherited by the warlike peasantry of Champagne; but the command of the French and Flemish troops, with which it had been decided that he should be intrusted, was now vacant; and the Deputies, who appear to have been clothed with a general power to act in the name of the whole Confederacy, proceeded at once to elect a new chief. With this object, overtures were made successively to the Duke of Burgundy and the Count

[1] Villehardouin (lib. i. p. 10). Both missions, as it might have been anticipated, were wholly unsuccessful.

[2] Da Canale (sect. 36); Zanetti (*Origine della Moneta Viniziana*, plate 1).

of Bar; but neither of these noblemen was prepared to take on himself so grave a responsibility, both alleging their unworthiness and incompetency. At the same time, they united in suggesting an appeal to the Marquis Boniface of Monteferrato, a man, recommended by his high connexions, his gallant and soldierlike bearing, his gentle and amiable character, and his popularity among the troops. The joint suggestion of Burgundy and Bar was readily embraced; and a messenger was despatched to acquaint Boniface with the wishes of the pilgrims, and to solicit his attendance at Soissons, where he was informed that the leading members of the Crusade had already assembled in council. The Marquis accepted the invitation and the trust; Foulkes of Neuilly and the local bishop administered to him the customary oath, while they adjusted to his shoulder the emblematic cross; and the new generalissimo, having engaged to join the army at Venice on or before the 22nd June, 1202, returned to Italy, to take leave of his family, and to arrange his private concerns.

From the opening of 1202, the Crusaders began to converge from every point of the Peninsula and continent toward Venice; the stream flowed steadily onward during the spring; and in the early part of the summer nearly 25,000 men had congregated on the Isle of San Nicolo, which was set apart by the Government for the purposes of a temporary camp. Barracks were erected at Lido for the troops, stables for the horses, storehouses for the fodder and other

necessaries. Provisions of every kind were in abundance; the pilgrims were supplied at a moderate rate; and the Islanders left nothing undone which might render the contract complete. In the number of those who had arrived, and who impatiently awaited the hour of departure, were the Count of Flanders, the Count of Blois, the Count of Perche, and the Count of Saint Pol, with their followers; Martin Litz and the Bishop of Halberstadt, with the pilgrims from the banks of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Elbe. But the Marquis Boniface, General-in-chief, and his Italian volunteers were still absent: while several thousands, who had taken the Cross, were reported to have violated their oath, and to have embarked from the ports of France, Lombardy, and Belgium. Among others, Renaud de Dampierre, to whom Theobald of Champagne had bequeathed a large portion of his property, with the command of his troops, broke his vow, and started for the Holy Land from Bari, in Apulia; it was said that a considerable body of Flemings had recently sailed from the harbour of Bruges; and many, after swearing on the Gospel to repair to Venice within the stipulated period, employed by a gross breach of faith the transports of Genoa and Marseilles. These defections involved the most serious consequences. The 30th of April, the day fixed for the final ratification of the treaty, had long passed; the 22nd of June, that appointed for the departure of the fleet, was close at hand. Of the 85,000 marks, which were payable to the Ducal Fisc, 53,000 only

were forthcoming; those who had duly arrived at San Nicolo, and were anxious to depart at the stated time, though able to contribute their own shares, were not for the most part in a position to supply the deficiency; and in strictness even the sum already advanced, which Monteferrato and the other leaders of the Crusade had partly raised on the security of their own jewels and plate, was liable to confiscation in default of the residue.

The situation of the pilgrims grew every day more deplorable; and every day it seemed to grow more unlikely that they would be able to save from forfeiture the money which was in the hands of the Venetian Government, by satisfying the terms of the contract. For the troops, enervated by idleness, gradually indulged in every species of licence; gaming and drinking prevailed among them to an inordinate extent; and the French and Germans, more especially, finding it hard to withstand the allurements which were thrown in their way by the Venetian shop-keepers, squandered their slender means in costly trifles. The consequence was that the Camp of Lido often became the scene of nocturnal brawls and drunken affrays; and these, again, repeatedly terminated in an open rupture and an extensive desertion. Nor were this laxity of discipline and this refractory spirit confined to a particular section or division of the army: they pervaded every rank; they were common, in a greater or less degree, to every class; and even the more reasonable, when they perceived that the delay occasioned by the

perfidy of their confederates was obliging them to apply their surplus to the liquidation of their current expenses, soon began to afford unequivocal symptoms of impatience.

The Barons, placed in such an unforeseen dilemma, found relief in a quarter where they perhaps thought that they were little entitled to expect it. The solicitude which Monteferrato and his compeers had shown to fulfil their engagements, the personal sacrifices which they had made to that object, did not escape the eye of Dandolo; the old man was touched by so strong an evidence of devotion on their part; and he determined, if it was practicable, to devise some scheme for the solution of the difficulty. Naturally of a kind and generous disposition, ardent, high-spirited, patriotic, nor wholly a stranger himself to the pious enthusiasm which he admired and appreciated in others, the Doge bore in mind, nevertheless, that it was incumbent on him, as the sovereign of a commercial people, to act with circumspection and reserve. It might have been the private inclination of Dandolo to reward the noble disinterestedness of the Chiefs of the Crusade by consulting their wishes unconditionally: but he felt that, in his public capacity, he could do no more than reconcile, so far as possible, the conflicting interests. On the one hand, it was not to be denied that the payment of the 32,000 marks ought to be secured beyond risk; but, on the other, it was to be considered that every preparation was complete for the departure; the pilgrims were anxious to start; and the temper of

the troops rendered it expedient to raise the Camp of San Nicolo at the earliest moment. Under these circumstances, the Doge submitted to the popular assembly that a compromise should be accepted. The fleet, he said, was ready to sail. There was no ground of complaint against his country: for the latter had more than acquitted itself of its engagements. But it was clear that the Barons were not in a position to discharge *their* obligations. He granted, that it *might be* the interest of a trading community to enforce the strict observance of the treaty; but he was of opinion, that it became a great Republic to entertain more liberal counsels, to listen to more equitable terms. It was true that they might confiscate a sum of 53,000 marks; but he conjured them to remember that the eye of Europe and Christendom was upon them; the national honour was at stake; and surely, instead of casting a slur on the Venetian name, it would be better to impose some task on the Pilgrims which, while it in no way affected the eventual liquidation of the debt, would, he thought, be highly advantageous to the Commune. The Doge concluded by suggesting, that the concurrence of the Barons in the recovery of Zara, which was held by the King of Hungary, should be announced to them as the sole condition on which the Republic could consent to suspend the confiscation of the money advanced, and to defer the payment of the residue. "For," said his Serenity, "unless these people help us in the matter, I fear much that we shall lose the place altogether."

This fair and sensible proposition met with general approval; the opposition of the larger contractors and more cautious traders was overruled; and when the Cardinal-legate, Peter of Capua, who was then at Venice in the quality of Nuncio, ventured to inveigh against the new project as a wicked and nefarious attack on the King of Hungary, a Christian and a Crusader, Dandolo contented himself with remarking, that the Pontiff, his master, had no right, nor could he harbour any wish, to shield a rebellious subject; moreover, that if his Eminence contemplated joining the present expedition as a preacher of the Cross, it was well: but otherwise, that they were in no want of leaders or counsellors, and that he could not be received in his capacity as Papal Legate. Peter of Capua, not a little startled at this intimation, took his leave somewhat abruptly; and the Chiefs of the Crusade, on their part, readily embraced an offer which afforded them the hope of discharging their incumbrances from the spoils of the opulent City of Zara.

While the command-in-chief of the Army of the Coalition had been intrusted, at an early stage, to the Marquis Boniface, the naval forces of the Republic still remained without a leader. There were in Venice many men of noble birth and of eminent abilities qualified for that high position, who had fought under Ziani at Salboro, and under his successor at Saint Jean d'Acre; there might be some, who had gained experience and had attained distinction under the illustrious

Michieli, and who had known his son-in-law, the Doge Polani; and there were perhaps a few who could recall the day, when a handful of stragglers brought the dreadful news, that the Doge Faliero II. was slain, and his army annihilated by the Hungarians. But the command of the fleet seemed to involve, in fact, the command of the whole expedition; and it was the policy, it might be the wish, of the Venetians, to nominate some person, whose rank and reputation entitled him to take precedence of the Allied Generals. Dandolo himself relieved the doubts of his countrymen, and perhaps anticipated their choice. One Sunday, the people were invited to assemble in Saint Mark's Church to discuss that identical question; and when mass had been celebrated, the Doge, vacating the seat which he occupied, was seen to mount the Tribune. The action excited general curiosity: his words commanded universal attention. "I am aged and infirm," said the old man, "and much need have I of quiet and repose: yet there is perhaps no one more capable of leading you in this expedition, than I am; therefore, if you will allow my son to remain here in my place to govern you, I will at once take the Cross, and go with the pilgrims, to live or die with them, as God shall think fit." A rapturous shout of applause assured him that his proposal was accepted; and Dandolo, descending from the rostrum, approached the nave of the cathedral, and, sinking on his knees before the great altar of Saint Mark's,[1] took the oath,

[1] Da Canale (sect. 36).

while the Cross was adjusted to the front of his ducal bonnet, "where it might be plainly visible to all men." The example of their venerable prince was emulated by many Venetians, who had hitherto stood aloof, and who now joined with him in swearing to devote their lives to the deliverance of the Holy Places. A few days later, Reniero Dandolo, his eldest son, was declared during his father's absence Vice-Doge of the Republic, with full powers;[1] and, every obstacle having been at last surmounted, the Pilgrims embarked at Lido, after so many months of suspense and delay, on the 8th of October, 1202. It was the Octaves of Saint Rhemigius.[2]

The weather was exceedingly fine; and in the course of a day or two, the fleet, consisting of 280 sail,[3] cast anchor off Trieste, which the Venetians had long been secretly anxious to reduce to their sway. Trieste, overawed by the sight of so large and powerful an armament, capitulated on the first summons, and acquiesced in the impost of a yearly tribute to the Ducal Fisc of 200 gallons of wine. The moiety of that tribute, and an oath of allegiance to Venice, were in like manner exacted from Omago, a town situated in the neighbourhood of Capo d'Istria. After these two achievements, which were little in harmony either with the object or the cha-

[1] Da Canale (sect. 37); *Statuti di Venetia* (c. 27, 31: edit. 1477).

[2] Ducange (*Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français*, lib. i. pp. 1–3).

[3] The 50 galleys furnished by the Republic, 60 transports, 60 long vessels, and 110 *Dromoni* or *Grossi legni*, and *Uscieri* or *Porto-Cavalli*. See Formaleoni (*Nautica Antica dei Veneziani*, p. 16).

racter of the expedition, the order was given to put out to sea; and, at the end of a rapid and prosperous voyage of 150 miles, the pilgrims reached Zara on the 10th of November. It was the eve of Saint Martin.[1]

[1] Michaud (lib. x. p. 232); Sir H. Nicolas (*Chronology of History*, p. 151).

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